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President: Mr. Sirous Nasseri (Islamic Republic of Iran)

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The PRESIDENT: I declare open the 690th plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

On behalf of the Conference, and on my own behalf, I should like to extend a warm welcome to our distinguished guest speakers today: the foreign ministers of Slovenia, Slovakia and the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan. It is a pleasure and honour to have them with us today and their presence testifies to the abiding interest of their Governments in our work and to the importance they attach to the multilateral approach to arms limitation and disarmament. I am sure we are all looking forward to hearing their statements.

I also have on my list of speakers for today the representatives of the Netherlands, Sweden, Pakistan, Brazil and the chairmen of the four ad hoc committees as well as the representative of India.

I should now like to give the floor to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Slovenia, Mr. Lojze Peterle.

Mr. PETERLE (Slovenia): Mr. President, at the end of the third session of the Conference, allow me to wish you every success in concluding this year's work of the Conference on Disarmament and to express my thanks to you as well as to previous chairmen for successful leadership of the Conference. I believe that also in this year the Conference will show positive results, significant for disarmament process in the world.

Before tackling specific questions dealt with at the Conference, may I present some views on current issues concerning security and disarmament?

The profound changes following the cold war have created a new political, economic and security image of Europe and the world. The disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the establishment and emancipation of new, democratically oriented States require a different way of cooperation and integration to the one pursued so far. This is particularly crucial since the changes have led to the emergence of new hotbeds of crisis and instability, which could also represent a threat to security in so far stable areas in Europe and in the world.

Following the bipolar way of thinking and settling security issues - which had seemed to be under control to a certain extent - the world now has to face new challenges and new demands to which it is still in search of suitable answers and solutions. It is a fact that the period of bipolarity was a relatively short phase of special relations in the world and that the world is now moving towards democratic processes of a new quality. For this reason, the relation between international security and disarmament has become more complex than hitherto.

Within this process, the situation of the countries in transition is particularly sensitive since their position is undefined in terms of security. In the newly created circumstances, appropriate security status should be ensured for these countries as soon as possible and an active approach

(Mr. Peterle, Slovenia)

towards this issue should be taken. The continued treatment in bipolar terms of countries in transition considerably impedes the process of their transition and integration into Europe.

We consider that one of the right ways of settling these controversies is cooperation within the Partnership for Peace offered by NATO. For this reason, the Republic of Slovenia supports the new role of NATO in Europe which builds bridges and not blockades and trenches. This provides a good example of successful adaptation to new circumstances, which creates favourable conditions for the development of democracy and stability in Europe.

Regrettably, the international community and international organizations have not conformed to the new circumstances. I believe that it will be necessary to thoroughly examine the utility of all parameters of security and disarmament, mainly deriving from the past, and their conformity with the new era, i.e. the era of transition and integration of the European continent.

The Republic of Slovenia opted for independence with the very vision of joining Europe, democracy and the market economy. These were fundamental aspirations which dictated the changes. In the former State we were faced with different views, with the undemocratic solving of problems, and with the imposition of the rights of the more powerful.

This we could not accept. We are, therefore, all the more astonished at the position of some States from the group of democratic and economically developed countries which aggravate, limit or even prevent our integration into Europe. Those who still insist on the way of thinking based on politically divided Europe and on the logic of power must become aware that problems cannot be solved in this way, but are instead perpetuated or even aggravated.

One of the consequences of such thinking which directly refers to Slovenia is the fact that Slovenia, a democratic and stable country, is still under an embargo on imports of arms and military equipment. Slovenia is thus politically discriminated against. With this measure its sovereignty and the right to defence have been directly limited. The embargo has a direct negative impact on economic growth since it degrades our rating on international financial markets and ranks us amongst potentially risky countries.

We wish to cooperate and to actively contribute to the consolidation of peace, security and stability in the world, in Europe and in particular in the region in which we are situated. We are, therefore, willing to participate in regional negotiations on disarmament. It is precisely in regional forms of disarmament that we envisage the strengthening and intensification of a global disarmament process and the enhancement of good-neighbourly relations and mutual trust.

Slovenia is particularly interested in regional security in its vicinity, i.e. in south-east Europe. It wishes to cooperate in this process only on an

(Mr. Peterle, Slovenia)

equal footing with all other countries in the region. The proposals to define the area of the so-called former Yugoslavia as a region to be disarmed in accordance with stricter criteria than apply to other countries are not acceptable to us. In no way can this territory be considered as a region. Regional security should be defined in harmony with the present time, on the basis of criteria including internationally recognized and sovereign States, legitimacy of security interest of all States, the principle of free will and the consent of all States interested. Regional disarmament should, however, not serve as a political instrument, based on the outdated perception of blocs in confrontation, making attempts at re-establishing States into historically decayed formations.

With regard to one of the currently most pressing issues in the sphere of disarmament, traditionally dealt with by the Conference on Disarmament - i.e. nuclear weapons - I should like to point out that Slovenia supports the extension of the validity of the non-proliferation Treaty. Since this is one of the most important agreements for international security and stability, we consider that it should be extended for an indefinite period of time without imposing any conditions. Slovenia has already communicated its standpoint to the depositaries of the agreement.

We believe that a successful movement towards the conclusion of the comprehensive test-ban treaty and the conclusion of the agreement on negative security assurances by all nuclear super-Powers would have a significant influence on the general attitude of States concerning the extension of the validity of the non-proliferation Treaty.

As in other areas of security and disarmament, we must recognize that, along with development of new technologies, there has been a marked increase in the number of countries potentially in possession of nuclear weapons or the technology for their manufacture. This encourages the uncontrollable spread of nuclear substances, thus resulting in an increased number of cases of unlawful trade in radioactive substances. One may therefore justifiably ask: What nuclear security do we have in Europe and in the world? A positive answer to this question is possible only after universal adherence to the non-proliferation Treaty has been achieved and when the international community starts to implement strict measures for the effective prevention of unlawful trafficking and smuggling of radioactive substances and technologies.

As a State in the territory of which a nuclear power station has been operating, it is in Slovenia's vital interest to ensure the security of nuclear devices. Efficient implementation of the international control regime should be applied thus preventing their misuse for the manufacturing of nuclear weapons and unlawful trafficking in radioactive substances.

In conclusion, I would like to express my support for the expansion of the membership of the Conference on Disarmament, which would more appropriately reflect the changes and a new security situation in the world which I have briefly mentioned. We believe that the right solution to this

(Mr. Peterle, Slovenia)

issue would be the inclusion of all interested peaceful States capable of contributing to the successful work of the Conference as fully-fledged members in the Conference on Disarmament.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Foreign Minister Peterle for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Slovakia, Mr. Eduard Kukan.

Mr. KUKAN (Slovakia): Mr. President, let me first use this opportunity to express my conviction of the crucial significance of the successful course of the negotiations of the Conference on Disarmament. I am firmly confident that your abilities as well as your experience will in a considerable way contribute to the work of this Conference. At the same time, I would like to assure you of the full support of the Slovak delegation.

Having in mind the striving for global disarmament, I am deeply convinced that the present time is of key importance for us. Today, we see possibilities which even the greatest optimists could not foresee a few years ago. Thus the Slovak society, like other peaceful nations committed to the peaceful heritage of its preceding generations, confirms its readiness to contribute to the removal of tension caused by the enormous accumulation of arms, residues of the cold war.

The comprehensive test-ban treaty belongs without any doubt to the most significant issues discussed in the framework of this Conference. The present favourable political situation offers a great opportunity not only to reduce the existing nuclear potential, but to undertake all the necessary measures to curb its further development as well. It would be an unjustifiable mistake to miss this great chance. Being aware of the urgency of the problem and exceptionality of this moment, the Slovak Republic supports the early conclusion of an efficient treaty. We are interested in reaching such a treaty which would ban all nuclear explosions without any exception and forever. Simultaneously, we would wish this treaty to enter into force as early as possible. Moreover, it would be appropriate to provide for the indefinite validity of the treaty.

We consider the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons the most important instrument in the nuclear non-proliferation area. The Slovak Republic wishes to strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation system by promoting the universality of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and by extending it indefinitely and unconditionally. So, we fully support the striving of the European Union reflected in the recently adopted decision on joint action regarding preparations for the 1995 NPT review and extension Conference. Strengthening of the regime which prevents proliferation of this kind of weaponry is a significant step towards complete nuclear disarmament. Especially, the non-nuclear-weapon States feel threatened by the existence of nuclear weapons. In addition, it is worth being worried about the fact that the nuclear-weapon States have not excluded the possible use of these weapons yet. So it is quite understandable that the Slovak Republic invites the nuclear Powers to commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Moreover, we believe that they will follow the

(Mr. Kukan, Slovakia)

countries which have already shown their historic wisdom by giving up their right to own nuclear weapons. The legal commitment of the nuclear-weapon States would be the first and the easiest step towards fulfilment of article VI of the non-proliferation Treaty.

The production of fissile material for weapons and other explosive devices is an inseparable part and parcel of the complex problems concerning nuclear weapons. The Slovak Republic therefore welcomed the preparatory consultations on this issue at the Conference on Disarmament. We believe that experts and diplomats will be able to convene the first round of negotiations and bring them to a successful conclusion of the Treaty. Here, I would like to underscore that, from our point of view, even a partial success is better than none. This is the reason why we support an immediate commencement of the negotiations on the basis of the so-called simple mandate determined by United Nations General Assembly resolution 48/75 L.

We share the view that, in order to achieve exclusively peaceful exploration of outer space, the present legal mechanism should be strengthened so that it corresponds with up-to-date technical progress and bans sending into outer space not only conventional arms, but laser, high-frequency and anti-satellite weapons as well. There is a lot of work to be done in this area. Though the existing space treaties represent positive steps in the right direction, more must be done to achieve the ultimate goal. The time has come to estimate the possibility of concluding a comprehensive multilateral agreement banning deployment of weapons in outer space and creating a supranational body to supervise its observation. We support the elaboration of a politically binding document that would have as a temporary measure the form of a code of conduct in outer space, and would cover exchanges of information concerning the space activities.

Considering transparency in armaments, the Slovak Republic has welcomed the establishment of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms as a significant measure to solve the problem of excessive and destabilizing transfers of conventional arms. At the same time, we realize that its full effectiveness will be safeguarded only by universal participation. We consider regional measures as a suitable supplementary element to the United Nations Register.

The Slovak Republic takes an active part in the negotiations on disarmament, cooperation and security in Europe. Signing the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, the 1992 Vienna Document and the open skies Treaty, Slovakia joined the process of transparency in armaments, arms control and disarmament. However, we do not consider the status achieved to be final and we support elaboration of an international code on conventional arms transfers.

The Slovak Republic is ready to take part in an exchange of information on the organizational structure and size of armed forces. Within the framework of CSCE we are committed to and we do provide information on medium-term and long-term plans concerning the size, structure, training and armaments of our armed forces.

(Mr. Kukan, Slovakia)

Concerning the proposal on extending the United Nations Register to the category of weapons of mass destruction and the production, possession and transfer of weapons of mass destruction, in our opinion, these aspects have already been subjects of regulation in other international agreements and documents. Their inclusion in the United Nations Register should therefore be reconsidered.

On the territory of the Slovak Republic there are no chemical weapons deployed, developed or produced and we have no intention to develop, produce or obtain them by any other means at all. There is national legislation being prepared for adoption to ban chemical arms, so that it, together with the ratification of the CWC, will create legislative conditions in the Slovak Republic for fulfilment of the Convention commitments.

The facts mentioned above demonstrate that the Slovak Republic is deeply interested in being perceived as a reliable member of international society. The Slovak authorities undertook concrete steps to contribute to stability and security in our region. The Slovak Republic has been a sovereign State since 1 January 1993, and during its short existence it has built up a transparent and effective control mechanism of trade in weapons and military technologies. According to resolution 46/34 L of the United Nations General Assembly, Slovakia passes annual reports to the Register of Conventional Arms.

The Slovak Republic supports on principle all disarmament activities and realizes the extraordinary importance of the Conference on Disarmament as a central multilateral forum for negotiations on arms control and disarmament. It is deplorable that, despite recommendations of the United Nations General Assembly and the Secretary-General as well, the task of extending the Conference on Disarmament's membership has become a latent issue. Mentioning this is especially bitter for us since the Slovak Republic wants to take a full-rights part in activities of the Conference in terms of her succession to the former Czechoslovak Republic, which was one of the founding members of the CD. Moreover, the Slovak Republic belongs to the reliable contributors to conventional disarmament. It is really a paradox that even though the Slovak defence industry has decreased its production to the level of 9 per cent in comparison with the year 1988, we have not achieved fully-fledged membership in the Conference so far. We are confident that concrete facts, deeds and figures should play the decisive role in considering the membership issue.

Finally, I would like to ask you to solve the membership issue in the shortest possible time, so that the composition of the Conference on Disarmament reflects the present geopolitical situation more consistently and answers the requirements of arms control and disarmament.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Minister Kukan for his statement and also for the kind words he has addressed to the Chair. The next speaker on my list is Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, who is attending this Conference for the tenth time and as such, I believe, is not only a familiar personality to the Chair, but also to the Conference as a whole. I now invite Dr. Velayati to address the Conference.

Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran) (translated from Farsi): My country has a deep interest in the issues that this Conference deals with and, therefore, we endeavour to follow the debates and negotiations at this forum with intensity and care. The outcome of the work here and in other disarmament settings has major implications at both global and regional levels. As such they are of great significance and relevance for us.

It is, therefore, a pleasure for me to be back here and to address the Conference on Disarmament. But let me first congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the work of the Conference. It is interesting to see a fellow diplomat and a colleague in this position. I am aware that this is a crucial time for the Conference as it tries to wind up its work for 1994. I hope that you will succeed.

I wish also to congratulate deeply Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, a friend whom I have been acquainted with for years, and Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail, a familiar personality whose unreserved and devoted service to this Conference goes back many years, on their appointments as Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference.

For more than four decades, the predominance of the cold war over world politics affected international relations in many respects. It divided most of the industrial world into two adversary blocs, each led by a super-Power, and directed vast economic and human resources towards military ends. Competition for influence in other parts of the world was heightened mainly through manipulation of ethnic or national tensions. Outside involvements tended to aggravate regional conflicts, through provision of military means to the adversaries. Therefore, the confrontational nature of relations between the two blocs was extended to other States across the globe.

Patterns of international politics have begun to change slowly since then. In Europe, the main arena of the cold war, the division has been terminated and confrontation has begun to give way to cooperation. NATO and Warsaw have subsequently declared a new partnership within the European continent. The new commitment to dialogue, cooperation and the maintenance of a collective defensive capability as the three mutually reinforcing elements of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council should presumably pave the way for a Europe devoid of confrontation and conflict.

Yet the high expectations and enthusiasm that emerged after the end of the cold war have gradually been tainted and tamed. Even in Europe itself, where age-old disputes were long contained through freezing of the territorial status quo within the framework of the Helsinki Declaration, the risks violence and war have been on the rise. Europe has now witnessed long and devastating wars right at its doorstep, without having the ability, or the will, to resolve them. Potentials for conflict are still prevalent in various forms and competition, in many instances, reaches the borders of confrontation.

The same is true of other areas of the world; whereas amelioration of international relations, as a whole, has had its positive effects, the

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

tendency towards instability, insecurity and conflict has also grown in parallel. Many new conflicts have emerged some with no solution in reach. Hotbeds of tension are found everywhere. Arms build-ups, in most situations, are on the increase rather than decrease. More economic resources are still diverted towards armaments. We see, as a result, a world that continues to be devastated by hostility and war.

Various factors, understandably overlooked in the optimistic euphoria which surrounded the jubilant termination of the cold war, have been cited for this situation. There remains, nevertheless, one fundamental underlying cause which needs to be addressed, and addressed soon, if we are to anticipate a real change in the world situation.

Security, for decades now, has been perceived to be attainable only on the basis of "deterrence", a "balance of power" or, more properly said, a "balance of terror"; a perception initially persistent amongst the major Powers which subsequently spread into other parts of the world. All military strategies and approaches to armaments have long been based on this perception. It is evident that any real change in international relations demands, as a prerequisite, a change in such concepts. But the military doctrines that have prevailed for so long now have proved very much resistant to such change.

The problem is that as long as security and military doctrines are defined on the basis of rivalry, hostility and a constant appetite for confrontation, when foe becomes friend, new enemies must be sought. I believe, in examining the trends that have succeeded the cold war, one can clearly detect a redirection of that inherent hostility towards the developing countries. Hence, the dictum that East-West rivalry has been transformed into North-South confrontation is appearing more and more frequently in the political literature.

Arguments have been raised, depicting this as exaggerated and sceptical. Yet, the fact that tension exists now between the North and the South and is, unfortunately on the rise, cannot be denied.

The basic point is very simple. The global military apparatus which has consumed extensive economic and human resources to produce military hardware for so long cannot, and will not, accept a collapse. Its desire is only to grow and grow further. It is not easy, however, to justify this any more, unless new security threats may quickly be defined and magnified. The developing world, and specific countries or groups of countries among them, should pose then as the new targets.

In the same vein, non-proliferation becomes a viable objective instead of the elimination of various classes of weapons. Continuous warnings are hence spread that the threat is no longer where weapons of mass destruction are piled up but where, allegedly, there are intentions to enter into this domain. It is in this context that COCOM is resolved while export control regimes proliferate. Technology is brought under control and access for developing countries is denied.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

This doctrine cannot last and cannot succeed. It may entail some short-term advantages for its promoters but, in the long run, it will turn itself into a new and threatening danger. This is a policy that breeds tension from within, aggravates imbalances and raises hostility.

What we need today is a new doctrine to replace the theories based on "deterrence" and "balance of power" that have persistently contributed to the expansion of the arms race. The new doctrine should concentrate on defensive capabilities: a "defensive security scheme" that bases itself on security and military strength at the lowest level of armaments. Arms that enhance the capacity for sudden aggressive strikes and extensive military offensives must be gradually eliminated through confidence-building among States in various regions.

Disarmament and arms control are the cornerstones of this scheme. The destruction of weapons of mass destruction is the absolute priority as they represent, without a shadow of doubt, the most threatening and destabilizing types of weapons. The elimination of nuclear weapons amongst them is of course the most pressing objective.

As long as nuclear weapons persist, the world will not be immune from the threat of nuclear war. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was an increase in the nuclear club from one to five while in the last two decades new States have come into the limelight as the threshold States. Nuclear weapons have increasingly turned into political weapons and, in the context of deterrence and balance of power, their significance has grown. As a result, despite the ending of the cold war, there is no move towards the elimination of this demonic weaponry.

Nuclear disarmament will therefore be the focus of our work when we attempt to review the non-proliferation Treaty next year. This is a treaty of very limited scope, whose restrictive objective could have perhaps been justified at the peak of the cold war. But today, we must admit sincerely that it is an outdated treaty particularly in the absence of a clear commitment to nuclear disarmament. The notion, promoted chiefly by the nuclear-weapon States, that the Treaty should be extended unconditionally and indefinitely is therefore inconceivable. This would be tantamount to submitting to the continued existence of nuclear weapons for ever. The NPT can thus only have meaning if it is coupled with a time-bound framework and a target date for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The review Conference provides also an important opportunity to assess the progress made in the implementation of commitments by the nuclear-weapon States. High on the agenda would be the status of negative security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States and, of course, the level of availability of material, technology and know-how related to peaceful uses of nuclear energy for NPT members and the elimination of existing restrictions in this regard.

We shall, at the same time, examine the prospects for a comprehensive test-ban treaty. While negotiations seem to evolve steadily towards a

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

treaty, it is important that the pace be maintained so that the CTBT will be concluded by the time of the NPT review.

Possibilities for non-member threshold States to join the NPT need also to be explored. The situation of Israel and its refusal to submit its nuclear facilities to IAEA safeguards is of paramount importance in this respect, as its ambitious nuclear programme constitutes a major threat to the countries in the Middle East.

The review, originally planned for one month, may be extended for as long as necessary in order to ensure that sufficient progress in the areas I mentioned has been reached. Only then can we consider fixed periods of extension, as stipulated in the Treaty, which will provide for intermittent reviews at the end of each period. This way we shall also be able to avoid the need for amending the procedure, although amendments for improving the context of the Treaty should by no means be ruled out.

In the realm of chemical weapons, the situation is more promising. Here, for the first time, we have a Convention which attempts to verifiably eradicate a whole class of weapons. The Conference on Disarmament can truly take pride in having successfully concluded the chemical weapons Convention. With its unique features, it has the potential to serve as a model for other disarmament treaties, particularly for weapons of mass destruction. To this end, it is highly important to make certain that it will also succeed in the implementation phase.

The preparatory work at The Hague, which has otherwise moved forward smoothly, has been marred by difficulties in arriving at solutions on some significant and contentious issues. In fact, most questions which were resolved politically during the negotiations have faced contradictory interpretations and positions. As expectations mount for the entry into force of the Convention, efforts need to intensify to ensure the finalization of the preparatory work in 1995.

The CWC, once in effect, should serve as the only basis for dealing with all aspects of chemical disarmament, repudiating any unilateral interpretations in this regard. The debate in the last General Assembly, followed by apparent deadlock in the discussions at The Hague on the question of peaceful use, is raising scepticism and concern. The Convention stipulates that export restrictions may only be applied to non-members. All existing export control regimes, therefore, are expected to be lifted for all members of the CWC without exception upon entry into force.

The same is true of the biological weapons Convention. The current discussions on establishment of a verification system are bound to succeed if they are coupled with a firm commitment to the free flow of material and technology for peaceful use; an undertaking with direct impact on the development of the developing countries in the field of health.

Let me reiterate firmly that the litmus test for the success of the NPT, the CWC and the BWC lies in the attitude of the advanced countries towards

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

peaceful use. Needless to say, Iran strongly opposes any non-peaceful application of science and technology, including non-peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Another area of concern in the context of defensive security is the offensive feature of advanced conventional weapons. Accordingly, conventional arms limitations will have to be agreed to as part of a more general strategy to promote defensive security.

On transparency in armaments, a re-emerging old issue which dates back to the days of the League of Nations, the initial momentum on the expansion of the Register has gradually given way to some stubborn inertia.

Today's Register is much more restrictive than the original one. We are still debating the inclusion of military holdings and military forces whereas in 1920 not only were they included but there were even negotiations on putting a cap on armaments.

If we expect the Register to be effective, then, it should, at least as relates to conventional weapons, be as comprehensive as in 1920. It should also be inclusive of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, we must also be able to deal with massive military production, particularly by major producers. Without a move towards lower levels of production, transparency in armaments will continue to stagnate and will not serve the intended objective.

Transparency, none the less, remains a prerequisite for transforming "deterrence" into "defensive security". For both weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons, elimination and reduction may be possible only if extensive information is made available. This is true not only at the global level but at the regional level as well.

In the Middle East the greatest menace comes from weapons of mass destruction and above all, nuclear weapons. Here, all nuclear facilities must be placed under IAEA safeguards and nuclear programmes must be disclosed. This nuclear transparency should facilitate accession of the remaining States to the chemical weapons Convention and the biological weapons Convention. The Middle East should also move quickly towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone and a zone free of other weapons of mass destruction.

In the Persian Gulf, after two devastating wars of aggression, a much deeper therapy is needed. The extent of foreign military presence and the quantity of armaments which pours into this area is second to none.

During the first war, Iraq was assisted in arming itself with all types of weaponry. Huge arms shipments arriving through various ports in the region ended up on Iraqi soil. It took another war and sustained international intervention to trim this huge military arsenal and bring it down to size. Yet the bitter experience of the second aggression has overwhelmed the countries in the Persian Gulf so much that they are now purchasing military hardware at astronomical rates.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Over $40 billion worth of armaments is flowing into the Arab States in the Persian Gulf. This ranks as highest amongst all arms purchases across the globe. Whereas Iran, after eight years of war, allocates less than 1.5 per cent of its budget to military expenditure - a figure that includes a steady and relaxed programme for gradual replenishment of lost capabilities - others are digging deep into their resources to spend an ever-increasing amount on arms and military build-up.

Outside Powers of course are the principal beneficiaries. Major arms producers continue to show profits despite the demise of the cold war essentially through their arms shipments to the Persian Gulf. They continue to allege other potential threats in order to sustain and elevate their sales. Threat perceptions in the region are, thus, broadly distorted and muddled. The ensuing imbalances are bound to create uncertainties more than to enhance security.

Something must be done to stop this senseless arms race in the region. Neither the region nor any of its individual States will benefit from this. The vast God-given resources of the Persian Gulf States surely have better use than to be wasted in unusable hardware.

The concept of defensive security is best applicable and most fitting to the Persian Gulf. It can offer a different approach to security and contribute, solemnly, to the long-term security and stability of the region. This requires, as a first step, the establishment of a forum where threat perceptions and security concerns may be aired openly and ways to improve confidence examined.

There are many possible measures that may be contemplated in order to enhance collective security and reduce tensions. As regards weapons of mass destruction, measures may include, first a renewed commitment to renounce nuclear weapons and reject their acquisition along with regional provisions to ensure compliance; second, joining of the NPT by the States that have not yet done so, and coordinated regional implementation of IAEA safeguards alongside cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy; third, a harmonized approach to the ratification and implementation of the chemical weapons Convention; fourth, formulation of complementary regional verification mechanisms for the biological weapons Convention; and fifth, preparations for establishment of the Persian Gulf as a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction.

With respect to conventional weapons, on the other hand, it is both possible and feasible to consider, first, transparency in conventional arms and exchanges of reports on military holdings within the region; second, reductions in defensive spending and in purchases of arms, and consideration of a ceiling on arms imports; third, channelling the defence savings to regional development projects; fourth, negotiations towards security schemes on the basis of assured defensive capabilities with minimum quantities of armaments; and fifth, devising security arrangements for the Persian Gulf through regional cooperation.

(Mr. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran)

The United Nations may play an active role, as mandated by Security Council resolution 598, to initiate and pursue this regional scheme. The Persian Gulf, I am confident, can become as secure as it is prosperous with a genuine political will on the part of the littoral States to move towards cooperation instead of wasteful confrontation. The major difficulty is in setting off the process, not in the process itself. Scepticism must begin to give way to confidence in order to achieve real stability in this region.

At the global level I reiterate, once again, that we need to move fast in order not to allow the emerging cooperation and harmony to precipitate into confrontation and disarray. The next millennium is right on our doorstep. We betray not only our own generation but generations to come, and indeed all humanity, if we do not seize this opportune moment to bring about a safer and more secure world.

The awesome menace of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must be done away with, and we should, at long last, be able to reverse the spiralling trend in arms production and devote the depleting resources of our planet to what benefits the human being rather than destroys him.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Minister Velayati for his statement and also for the kind words addressed to the Chair. And now the Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Hakuo Yanagisawa, is invited to take the floor to make his statement.

Mr. YANAGISAWA (Japan): Let me, first, offer you my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Conference on Disarmament at this important time, when the Conference is about to conclude its work of the 1994 session. I should like, also, to avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Petrovsky, the Secretary-General, and Mr. Bensmail, the Deputy Secretary-General, for so ably heading a secretariat that is doing such very intensive and useful work for this year's Conference session.

I feel honoured to address the Conference - which the Japanese Foreign Ministers, Mr. Shintaro Abe and Dr. Taro Nakayama, addressed in 1984 and 1991, respectively - at this time, when the Conference is engaged in such an intensive and important discussion of disarmament issues in the post-cold war era, in particular a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty (CTBT), a task of the most historic significance. It gives me very great pleasure to convey to the Conference the best wishes for success in its endeavours of Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and Foreign Minister Yohei Kono, both of whom stressed to me the importance of stressing to the Conference the disarmament policy of the Government of Japan and the interest in and desire for disarmament of the Japanese people.

Forty-nine years have passed since the Second World War ended. World War II brought terrible suffering and tragedy to a great number of people throughout the world. Because of this, after the war, motivated by profound

(Mr. Yanagisawa, Japan)

and sincere regret for the past, Japan, desiring to ensure that the tragedy of war should never happen again, determined never again to make war, and adopted its peace Constitution. Ever since, Japan has both limited its self-defence forces to a minimum and striven to promote world disarmament. Also, Japan, the only country to have been the victim of nuclear attack, has strictly adhered to its three non-nuclear principles of not possessing, not manufacturing, and not introducing into Japanese territory nuclear weapons, and has sought to convince the international community of the need to promote disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, with the goal of the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.

The end of the cold war has drastically reduced the possibility of a world-scale war, but the danger of the outbreak or spread of regional conflicts arising out of ethnic, tribal or religious hostility has grown, as has the danger of the proliferation and transfer of weapons, including those of mass destruction and the means of delivering them. Given these facts, the international community needs to address the issue of the non-proliferation of such weapons as a task of the highest priority. The question of nuclear weapons development by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and other issues relating to the transfer and proliferation of nuclear weapons which have emerged in the post-cold war era, are extremely serious, and the need to maintain and strengthen the non-proliferation regime, whose central pillar is the NPT, is felt more acutely than ever. Japan once again strongly urges countries not yet parties to the NPT to accede to the Treaty at the earliest possible date. Japan strongly supports the indefinite extension of the NPT at the 1995 NPT extension conference.

We must strive to attain non-proliferation. We should, also, in no way relax our efforts for nuclear disarmament, given the fact that there still exist nuclear weapons enough to destroy all the world and human civilization. Japan, which desires to see the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons, welcomes the START agreements between the United States and the Russian Federation and hopes that they will be implemented soon. In addition, Japan welcomes especially the fact that negotiations on a CTBT are being intensively conducted in the Conference on Disarmament. Japan considers extremely valuable the moratoria on nuclear testing announced by the United States, the Russian Federation and France, and the de facto suspension of nuclear testing by the United Kingdom, which together created a favourable environment for the commencement of the CTBT negotiations, and greatly hopes that China will follow suit. This year, remarkable progress has been made on the CTBT negotiations, under the very effective guidance of Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, and a rolling text, which will be the basis for subsequent negotiations, has been worked out. These developments deserve to be evaluated very highly. The Committee has decided to continue negotiations after the formal conclusion of the 1994 CD session, and Japan hopes that further, and accelerated, progress will be made in those negotiations. Japan ardently desires to see agreement reached on the CTBT, and Ambassador Tanaka and members of his delegation have been instructed to make every possible effort to that end.

(Mr. Yanagisawa, Japan)

Japan has participated actively in the work of the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Cooperative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events (GSE), for example, sending Dr. Shigeji Suehiro, formerly the Director-General of the Japan Meteorological Agency, Japan's leading authority in the field of seismology, to the GSE meetings from the outset, believing that Japan can make a valuable contribution in the field of verification of a CTBT, especially in seismology, an area extremely relevant to the implementation of the treaty. Japan annually receives about 30 trainees in seismic engineering from developing countries in the training course of the Japan International Cooperation Agency. I am happy to be able to say that some of the experts representing their countries in the GSE today are graduates of that course. Japan is determined to continue to provide various kinds of technical and human resources contributions in that area.

Japan considers it extremely desirable that a satisfactory CTBT be agreed before the NPT extension and review conference in the spring of next year, and ardently hopes that we will at least have made meaningful progress by that time.

Along with the CTBT, Japan attaches great importance to the issue of the prohibition of the production of fissile materials for nuclear explosive purposes as a global nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation measure. The adoption of the "cut-off" resolution by consensus in last year's United Nations General Assembly, supported by all United Nations Members, including all the nuclear-weapon States, was indeed a very important event.

It is truly regrettable that, notwithstanding the consensus reached thanks to the efforts of Ambassador Shannon of Canada, the Special Coordinator on cut-off, to launch negotiations in the CD, there is as yet no agreement on the establishment of an ad hoc committee, because of the question of its mandate. Although there are very few days left to the end of the 1994 session, Japan continues to hope that we shall see negotiations on cut-off, based on a mandate reflecting the content of the United Nations General Assembly consensus resolution, begin at once.

The issue of security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States is one that has been addressed by the Conference for many years. This year, there has been useful discussion of various aspects and possibilities under the chairmanship of Ambassador Baron Guillaume of Belgium. Japan hopes that, as the 1995 NPT extension conference approaches, there will be further progress in the direction of measures acceptable to all countries.

Japan sees with great concern the repeated discoveries in Germany of smuggled weapon-grade nuclear material. Japan desires to promote a close exchange of views with other countries and to cooperate to prevent the smuggling of nuclear material.

The IRA in Northern Ireland is reported to have declared a cease-fire with the British forces. This move would be welcomed. However, conflicts are still taking place in various parts of the world. Tragically, the degree of "militarization" of those conflicts, their scale and intensity, have grown

(Mr. Yanagisawa, Japan)

markedly in recent years. Particularly notable and tragic examples are to be found in Africa, with the vast amounts of small arms that have been introduced into the region making civil wars very much more destructive than they might otherwise be. Japan firmly maintains its "Three principles on arms exports", part of a rigorously enforced policy of strict control of exports of weapons. Japan considers it essential for the peace and stability of the world for the leading arms-producing countries to greatly restrict their exports of weapons in order not to aggravate instability in regions. The building of an international framework of export control covering the transfer of conventional weapons is a task of great urgency for the international community. Japan has consistently worked for the establishment of such a framework and will continue to strive for the early creation of an effective framework.

The implementation of measures for transparency in armaments (TIA) is extremely important as the first step to arms control and disarmament in the area of conventional weapons. Successive prime ministers of Japan have made clear the great importance they attach to TIA. Japan welcomes the very promising response to the United Nations arms Register, established in 1992 as a result of a joint initiative by Japan and the EC, with more than 80 countries currently participating. Japan hopes that the Register's coverage will be steadily expanded and its effectiveness will continue to grow.

I should, next, like to refer to the meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in Bangkok in July. That meeting of the ARF was of historic significance, establishing a framework for political and security dialogue covering the whole Asia-Pacific region. We find that good start extremely encouraging. Foreign Minister Kono, who represented Japan at the meeting, stressed the importance of disarmament, and advocated "information sharing" measures to enhance the transparency of the defence policies of the countries in the region as part of "mutual reassurance measures". The Chairman's Statement issued at the end of the meeting states that it had been agreed to promote the eventual participation of all ARF countries in the United Nations Register. These developments in the ARF are to be welcomed as an important step for confidence-building in this region.

Japan believes that we should both continue deliberations on TIA in the CD and promote the development of such regional frameworks.

Japan has since 1989 been host to a United Nations disarmament conference six times: three times in Kyoto, twice in Hiroshima and once in Sendai. Senior government officials from many countries, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, several of the ambassadors present here, representatives of NGOs and many other people from both Japan and other countries participated in those conferences, at which there were very useful discussions. Japan believes that those conferences provided a valuable stimulus in the deliberations on arms control and disarmament issues in both the CD and the United Nations. Next year, which coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, Japan will host another United Nations disarmament conference, in Nagasaki.

(Mr. Yanagisawa, Japan)

In conclusion, Japan ardently hopes that, pooling and making fruitful the wisdom and experience of humanity, the CD will continue to contribute to the well-being of our children in the twenty first century. I can assure the Conference that Japan will continue to make every possible effort for the promotion of arms control and disarmament.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Parliamentary Vice-Minister Yanagisawa for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I should now like to give the floor to the representative of the Netherlands, Ambassador Ramaker.

Mr. RAMAKER (Netherlands): As this year's session draws to a close, may I first wish you every success in guiding us through the last stretches of our work - and as it is the first time that I address this Conference, may I also express my pleasure at seeing the secretariat of this Conference being headed by our Secretary-General, Mr. Petrovsky, and his Deputy, Mr. Bensmail. I know from experience how valuable the assistance of the secretariat is for our work. Allow me finally, Mr. President, through you, to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Brotodiningrat, for the way he fulfilled his duties as President. I am particularly grateful to him for the kind words of welcome he addressed to me when I took up my new assignment as head of the Netherlands permanent representation to this Conference last July.

Eight years have passed since I left Geneva as deputy head of the Netherlands delegation to the Conference on Disarmament and headed for New York. In these years the international climate in which the Conference on Disarmament is functioning has profoundly changed. Since my return I noted a new mood, a new sense of purpose in a CD reinvigorated by a successful outcome of a long and highly complicated negotiating process to ban an entire category of weapons, chemical weapons. Since then the CD has set itself new tasks. I am impressed by the progress made in a relatively short time in negotiating a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

Earlier in this year's session my predecessor, Ambassador Wagenmakers, outlined the Netherlands' views and policies on arms control and disarmament in general. Therefore I do not need to dwell on this now. Neither is there a need for me to elaborate at this juncture on the importance the Netherlands attaches to the only item on our agenda, transparency in armaments, under which attention is given to matters of conventional armament. My predecessor, not too long ago, outlined the Netherlands' position on this issue. Let me just say this. With the end of the cold war the danger of nuclear confrontation, so often invoked in this hall over the years, has receded considerably. But, notwithstanding the profound changes in international relations - and some would say precisely because of that - regional conflicts and wars fought with conventional weapons seem to be on the increase. The Netherlands for one could not accept that the Conference would not address the global aspects of conventional disarmament. Some balance between nuclear and conventional issues in our work must be maintained. Not for the sake of balance itself, but, if not as a moral imperative, then in any case as a link of our work with the harsh realities outside the conference rooms of the Palais.

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

Having said that, I do not of course wish to diminish in any way the importance and - yes - the urgency of addressing nuclear issues. There is no denying anyway that at present the bulk of our work is nuclear or nuclear-related in nature. In today's intervention, therefore, I wish to focus on issues of nuclear arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation.

The stalemate between East and West that also paralysed the work of this body for so long disappeared by the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. Security doctrines have become truly defensive now on both sides. The role of nuclear weapons in defence concepts is substantially diminishing. At the same time, tremendous progress has been made in nuclear disarmament. The complete elimination of an entire category of nuclear weapons - in the intermediate range - is already a few years behind us. Russia and the United States have reached agreement on the kind of deep cuts in their strategic nuclear arsenals the international community has asked for for so long.

With the new international climate now prevailing, conditions have never been more propitious for making rapid progress also on the nuclear issues this Conference is working on. First and foremost in my mind are the strenuous efforts aimed at the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty (CTBT). These negotiations too, take place against a propitious background: four of the five recognized nuclear-weapon States observe declared or de facto moratoria on their underground nuclear testing. The Netherlands hopes sincerely that these moratoria can be maintained until they, so to say, "evaporate" at the moment a treaty enters into force that will ban nuclear test explosions in all environments for all time.

Under the experienced guidance of Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico, the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban has now entered into a true negotiating mode. My delegation is particularly pleased with the serious and hard work carried out in the two working groups on verification and legal and institutional issues. A rolling text with important elements for the future CTBT will be included in this year's report of the CD to the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is, as a working method, an essential step in the negotiating process. My delegation fully supports the idea of continuing our work during the period between the end of this session and the beginning of the 1995 session of the CD. The extensive groundwork done thus far will no doubt quickly result in more treaty text after further inter-sessional negotiations of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban later in the year.

Although optimistic, therefore, on the negotiating process, my delegation is of the opinion that the time has now come to thoroughly address a number of fundamental issues involved in negotiating a test ban. Not all provisions of the future treaty can be dealt with any more only on their own merits. Many of the provisions are clearly interrelated. Unless and until at least a considerable degree of consensus is reached on fundamental issues such as the scope of the ban, the organization and the functions and competences of its organs, entry into force and, last but not least, the size, structure and institutional/legal set-up of the international monitoring system, progress liable to be made on other parts of the treaty will turn out to be limited.

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

In the view of the Netherlands, a treaty banning the production of fissile material for explosive purposes would mean another breakthrough in nuclear arms control. My delegation therefore attaches considerable importance to the earliest possible beginning of the negotiation of such a treaty on the basis of a generally acceptable mandate. It is therefore to be noted with regret that a few delegations only still seem to be unable to agree to a negotiating mandate formulated in general terms for an ad hoc committee on cut-off. This is the more regrettable as the text as proposed originally follows closely the wording of last year's United Nations General Assembly resolution on the issue which was, after all, adopted by consensus.

As Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Yanagisawa of Japan said a few minutes ago, we hope sincerely that Ambassador Shannon's efforts to reach agreement will be crowned with success in the final days of this year's session.

I would be remiss if, while reviewing our work on nuclear issues, I did not mention an issue which has been with us for so many years. I am referring to the question of negative security assurances. Also here, we have noted some positive developments recently. Since the adoption by the Russian Federation of a new military doctrine last year, four of the five recognized nuclear-weapon States - who happen also to be the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council - have given unilateral negative security assurances which, materially speaking, seem to cover the same ground. In all four cases security assurances are extended to non-nuclear-weapon States adhering to the NPT or to a comparable internationally binding agreement. The five permanent members are engaged in serious efforts to bridge the remaining differences between them and reach a common position. The Netherlands would hope that this can be done in the near future. With China's adherence to the NPT the possibility of a common position of the five nuclear-weapon States can only have increased. But pending agreement between the permanent five it seems to us their existing assurances have lost none of their force.

Meanwhile, under the two-track approach decided by the Conference, the Ad Hoc Committee on negative security assurances has continued its work on this issue. Under the inspired leadership of Ambassador Guillaume of Belgium, the Ad Hoc Committee has sharpened its focus on the changed international circumstances under which we are nowadays addressing this issue. Non-proliferation concerns fully justify a conditionality of negative security assurances. On the other hand, the Ad Hoc Committee has also given attention to the concerns of those who advocate a stronger legal underpinning and harmonization of the existing unilateral negative security assurances. Clearly no consensus yet exists on how to merge the different views, but discussions should continue in order to take advantage of the emerging momentum.

As may be clear from what I have said thus far, my delegation's assessment of recent developments in the field of nuclear arms control is an overall positive one. Turning now to nuclear non-proliferation, my delegation is inclined to remain, generally speaking, positive. Of late the existing

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

nuclear non-proliferation climate, so to say, has been bolstered considerably. First, the 1968 non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) has seen increased adherence. Since a few years ago all five nuclear-weapon States have been party to the NPT. Of the three former republics of the Soviet Union, now independent States, on whose territories nuclear-weapon systems had been placed, two, Belarus and Kazakhstan, have in the meantime become parties to the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon States. Hopefully the third, Ukraine, will follow soon. Other newly independent States have become parties to the Treaty as well: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. The three Baltic States also have become parties to the Treaty.

In Africa, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have joined in recent years. Algeria has voiced its intention to do likewise. And, talking about Africa, I wish to signal the substantial progress being made towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa.

Elsewhere, in Latin America, the regime created by the Treaty of Tlatelolco was considerably strengthened with the accession of Argentina and Brazil. Argentina is also in the process of ratifying the NPT. In the Middle East, finally, an area of crisis with potential nuclear ramifications, the overall political climate has changed for the better considerably.

All of this should bode well for a successful outcome of the 1995 Conference on the review and extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

But nuclear non-proliferation, the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, should not be taken for granted. Risks of nuclear proliferation remain with us. Recent reports of leakage even of weapons-grade nuclear materials and nuclear expertise should give us cause for great concern. If nothing else, the recent crisis around the nuclear programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has shown the world the paramount importance of keeping the existing IAEA safeguards regime under constant review, and strengthening it whenever the need arises, if only because of new technologies.

Next spring, the parties to the NPT will have to take a decision on the extension of the Treaty. It is a momentous decision. The Treaty itself provides us essentially with two options: either an indefinite extension or an extension "for an additional fixed period or periods". The first option would result in a crystal-clear situation, which would enable the present process of nuclear arms control and disarmament to continue while further development of the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes would be assured. The second option, however, extension for an additional fixed period or periods, would involve all kinds of legal complications. It could easily result in a weakening of the NPT and could cast doubt among would-be proliferators as to the determination of NPT States parties to maintain the Treaty as the cornerstone of the international non-proliferation regime.

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

I do not need to elaborate on the essential role a viable nuclear non-proliferation regime has to play in establishing a safer and more stable world. It has often been said that nuclear technology, and therefore nuclear weapons, cannot be disinvented. Even in a nuclear-weapon-free world, if such a world can ever be attained, the need for such a regime will still be very strong. For that reason alone the Netherlands will stand firmly for an indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT next year, when the parties to that Treaty will have to take a decision on its future.

The Netherlands understands the view that one cannot reach a conclusion on the extension of the Treaty before one has thoroughly examined the operation of the Treaty. Apart from the extension decision, the 1995 Conference indeed has to deal with the review of compliance with the Treaty over the last five years. In reviewing the NPT we should guard, however, against too narrow, too legalistic, an approach. The NPT should also be seen in historical perspective. In our view the Treaty has worked well. It has laid a solid foundation for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. At the time of its conclusion it was generally feared that in a generation the world would be confronted with some tens of nuclear-weapon States. Now, a generation later, this fear has not materialized, and this is to a large degree to the credit of the NPT. With recent adherences, the total number of parties to the Treaty has reached an all-time high. An overwhelming majority of States seem, admittedly in a number of cases on balance, to see clearly the important contribution the NPT makes to stability and security for them all. No State party on the other hand seems to be of the opposite opinion, that its security interests would be better served without the legal framework of a non-proliferation regime as provided by the NPT.

The Netherlands is of course fully aware that the Treaty is not without controversy. It clearly sees the concerns of those who maintain that over the years the NPT has emphasized the cause of horizontal non-proliferation to the detriment of attention to what is called vertical proliferation. We agree that the one cannot be seen in isolation from the other. But the goal of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is a worthy one in itself, and, as I indicated earlier, significant progress has been made in capping and reducing vertical proliferation. Much work, certainly, remains to be done in order to further reduce the role of nuclear weapons in the world's security architecture. This Conference is making its own contribution to this end by negotiating a CTBT. Hopefully before long a ban on the production of fissile material will follow. While horizontal proliferation remains a cause of concern and therefore of constant vigilance, the prevention, yes the redressing, of what has come to be known as vertical proliferation is on the right track. For the first time in the nuclear era, arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation go hand in hand.

It is in this spirit that the Netherlands approaches the remaining preparatory stages of the 1995 NPT review and extension conference, and for that matter, the conference itself.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Netherlands, Ambassador Ramaker, for his statement and also for the kind words addressed to

(The President)

the Chair. I now give the floor to the representative of Sweden, Ambassador Norberg, who will speak in his capacity as Special Coordinator on the review of the agenda for the Conference.

Mr. NORBERG (Sweden): Allow me first, Mr. President, to extend to you my congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of this Conference.

I have the honour to report today on the result of my consultations as Special Coordinator on the issue of the review of the agenda of the Conference. Let me at the outset stress that the impressions I will now present are solely my own and are not in any way binding on delegations.

Following my appointment, I initially conducted some preliminary and limited bilateral consultations. Thereafter, two rounds of informal open-ended consultations were held under my chairmanship, on 28 June and 11 August respectively. At these consultations all member States and non-member States of the Conference had the opportunity to express their views.

In the course of these discussions, the "Decalogue", the CD's agenda proper and the practice of presidential statements dealing with the agenda have been addressed. Two time perspectives on the issue have in principle presented themselves: on the one hand, the more immediate future; on the other hand, the period post-CTBT and possible "cut-off" negotiations.

The consultations have revealed an openness in general on the part of the delegations to discuss the issue of the agenda. It has also become clear that delegations are prepared to discuss it separately from the question of the composition of the Conference. However, as regards the substance, strong divergent views have been registered with respect to the possible content of a reformed agenda of the Conference.

As regards the "Decalogue", different perceptions as to its relevance and status in relation to the CD have been expressed. However, there seems to be a prevailing view that any changes therein would have to be the subject of deliberations and approval by the United Nations General Assembly.

The discussions relating to CD's agenda proper have covered various aspects such as the existing items on the agenda, possible new items, regrouping of existing items and addition of new ones; also the scope of activities of the Conference were discussed. In this context, divergent positions have been expressed with regard to existing agenda items 2, 3, 7 and 8 respectively. On a more general note, consultations have revealed conflicting views among delegations as to the appropriate balance between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons on the agenda. Divergent views have also been expressed with regard to the question of a possible widening of the CD's scope of activities to include the negotiation of politically binding agreements covering, for example, global confidence-building measures or regional questions.

(Mr. Norberg, Sweden)

The consultations have indicated that consensus on the substantive aspects might not be easily obtained. However, I am gratified to report that there is general agreement on the need to continue the consultations on the review of the agenda during the next annual session of the Conference. Delegations will find before them the text on the issue to be inserted in the report of the CD, as agreed upon at the informal plenary meeting last week.

During the consultations the importance of dealing with the issue of the agenda in a pragmatic way has been underlined by delegations. I believe this is a correct view. By adopting a pragmatic approach to the question, the Conference should be in a position to make progress in the work ahead and effectively respond to the challenges facing it.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Norberg for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to the representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Kamal, who will speak in his capacity as Chairman of the informal open-ended consultations on improved and effective functioning of the Conference.

Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): I have the honour to present the report on the informal open-ended consultations on the improved and effective functioning of the Conference on Disarmament, circulated as document CD/WP.457.

As in previous years, a constructive debate has taken place on the different issues identified for consideration. I am happy to report that agreement has emerged once again, in two important areas.

The first relates to the desirability of amending rule 12 of the rules of procedure in order to enable the functions of the presidency to pass at the beginning of each calendar year to the representative of the member State assuming the presidency next in order of rotation.

The second relates to the subject of computerization and computer coordination between the United Nations Disarmament Affairs Information System in New York, the optical disk system in Geneva, and the Centre for Disarmament Affairs in Geneva. Given the importance that members of the Conference on Disarmament attach to improved and easy access to the information contained in this system, it has been suggested that the necessary installations should be completed within a specific and early time-frame, and that a system of structured periodic consultations be instituted in this field between the member States of the Conference on Disarmament and the Centre for Disarmament Affairs.

Our common endeavour of constant self-examination and self-improvement has once again proved its utility by making tangible recommendations. The desire of member States to continue these open-ended consultations again next year is evidence of the importance that they attach to this exercise.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Kamal for the presentation of his report to the Conference. In conformity with past practice, I intend to

(The President)

invite the Conference to take note of that report, as contained in document CD/WP.457, after we have finished with the list of speakers.

I should now like to give the floor to the representative of Brazil, Mr. Jaguaribe.

Mr. JAGUARIBE (Brazil): The head of my delegation having been called from Geneva on official business, I have been instructed to make the following statement.

I would like to begin, Mr. President, by expressing my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Conference and its satisfaction with the efficient manner in which you have conducted our business. I would also like to put on record our appreciation to distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Soemadi Brotodiningrat of Indonesia, for showing us his well-known proficiency and skills in directing our work during his term as President of the CD.

We are arriving at the conclusion of our scheduled session, though we will still meet inter-sessionally in a hopefully productive period to continue to elaborate the future CTBT. We believe the overall balance of this year's work is positive in spite of shortcomings in the work of some committees and of our persistent inability to reach an agreement on the expansion of the membership of the CD, a fact that is doubly distressing to my delegation.

We have this favourable assessment because in its work on the CTBT, the CD has again made evident its ability to progress on relevant matters when there is political commitment. We have to maintain our momentum and to ensure that this commitment is not effaced when we enter the final stages of our negotiation.

I would like to briefly touch upon some of the main issues we have considered this year. The CTBT has been the object of previous interventions of my delegation in the plenary. I do not want to repeat our positions, but I would like to emphasize some points of a general nature which have increasingly attracted our attention.

The CTBT has to be an equitable and non-discriminatory treaty. This basic assumption has to permeate all levels of negotiation, from the basic undertaking to the verification regime. We have repeatedly emphasized that the CTBT is first and foremost a political instrument, wherein the essential value lies in the commitment of States parties. Verification is important, inasmuch as it strengthens the confidence generated by the regime. We are prepared to consider, as we have been doing throughout the negotiations, all proposals made for the verification regime, including those that determine a higher level of verification requirements than we consider necessary.

If we are to have a sophisticated verification regime, we must be assured that it can provide a solid basis for subsequent technical assessment of the nature of the events it detects. If no technical answers can be provided, then we are faced with essentially political decisions and the whole

(Mr. Jaquaribe, Brazil)

verification apparatus to be set in place serves little purpose. If technical answers can be provided, then the organization must have all the required expertise to carry out these functions, without detriment to the right of States parties to maintain their own national capacity. I am sure all delegations can perceive the difficulties that would be posed by the need to rely solely on countries that have an established capacity in this area for the technical assessment of events, due to the inability of the secretariat to provide it. I can here recall, perhaps slightly out of context, an observation that is generally made in relation to matters such as these: the socialization of costs and the privatization of benefits. In short, the question that comes to mind is the following: if events can be technically assessed by individual States parties, why does it seem difficult to have the secretariat have this capability?

We believe that the logical consequence of this is the need to have ample analytical capability in the secretariat. This does not mean that we want the secretariat to have a political decision-making role, which has to remain the exclusive domain of the States parties, through the appropriate deliberative bodies of the organization. This political decision, however, must be based on the fullest level of technical evaluation possible, and States parties should be able to rely on the secretariat for that.

We believe, as we have previously stated, that this will imply the need for agreed criteria, not exclusively of a technical nature, to be provided to the secretariat related to the assessment of data received. The technical criteria to be developed would consist, among other things, of a harmonization of the methods presently utilized to assess data and any refinements which a consolidated and integrated verification regime such as the one envisaged would allow. This process would have to be undertaken by a preparatory committee, but we envisage its continuity under the supervision of the Executive Council. The criteria of a non-technical nature would have to be non-discriminatory and based on technical assumptions. They would be set by the intergovernmental bodies of the organization, to help the secretariat in sorting the data obtained.

These measures could be adopted without hindrance to the right of any interested State party to proceed to its own evaluation and to submit results and proposals derived therefrom to the intergovernmental bodies of the organization.

Despite the persistent and creative efforts of its Chairman, Ambassador Guillaume of Belgium, the Committee on negative security assurances was again unable to make significant progress, though some innovative ideas were discussed. Brazil believes that the only truly effective assurance against nuclear weapons is their complete elimination under international supervision. However, there can be no issue taken with the legitimacy of the demands of non-nuclear-weapon States to receive negative security assurances. Their claims are a logical consequence of their abdication of the nuclear-weapon course. Though we are not members of the NPT, we share the view of those that maintain that negative security assurances should find a place in that Treaty as they have in the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Indeed, it

(Mr. Jaquaribe, Brazil)

would be logical to suppose that a legally binding verifiable commitment to horizontal non-proliferation, in whatever form it is undertaken, should have as an automatic and unconditional effect that of obtaining legally binding negative security assurances. The fact that these assurances are denied gives rise for concern, not so much on account of the effective value of the assurances, but because of the political significance of the perception of the lack of will of the nuclear Powers to provide them.

We don't want to overemphasize the relevance of negative security assurances, however, because of our firm belief that the question of nuclear weapons requires other and more incisive initiatives. In fact, we believe we must avoid creating the understanding that obtaining negative security assurances would level the playing field once again and remove the factual and conceptual difficulties related to the existence of nuclear weapons in a few countries.

The Committee on Transparency in Armaments proved to be one of the most controversial items of our agenda this year. Brazil favours the Register of the United Nations and has been providing information on all its aspects, including procurement through national production and military holdings, in a detailed and disaggregated form. We believe our considerations should address all the issues that are perceived as problematic by interested parties. Our major concern should remain to attain universality in the response. Some sustain the concept that since our first aim is universality, we should not make any changes in the Register until we have approached that goal. We believe this to be essentially contradictory, because the Register is not attaining universality largely on account of its flaws or perceived flaws. Therefore, more than an optional exercise, and to some a diverting one, the review of the Register becomes a requirement for reaching universality.

In order to reach universality we must strive to avoid inequitable or discriminatory approaches. The inclusion of weapons of mass destruction and a more comprehensive and detailed system of categorization would evidently constitute an extremely relevant contribution in this regard. We are concerned with the continued resistance of some countries to allow for a more meaningful categorization of the Register or a greater breakdown of the information. It also seems to be totally contradictory to be talking about excessive and destabilizing accumulation of arms and not to include weapons of mass destruction in the Register. This would not divert it from its original intent, but make it more equitable and acceptable for many of those that presently have difficulties.

We would like to reiterate our belief that the Register can and does provide tangible benefits and its maintenance and improvement should be pursued. Its flaws or perceived flaws should be negotiated and not give rise to outright rejection.

Perhaps in no other field has the end of the cold war era created a more favourable environment for positive steps as in the prevention of an arms race in outer space. If an arms race in outer space is no longer taking place, as suggested by some delegations during our discussions this year within the

(Mr. Jaquaribe, Brazil)

Ad Hoc Committee, then it would seem logical that the past impediments to concrete measures are also no longer sustainable. We believe that the international political situation is now propitious for an objective effort in the direction of the banning of all types of space weapons, so as to assure the peaceful use of outer space in the interest and benefit of mankind. As to the question of how the Ad Hoc Committee should proceed, we have no reasons to oppose non-discriminatory confidence-building and transparency measures as long as they preserve the right of every State to access space technology for peaceful purposes and to the benefits of peaceful outer space exploration. However, due to their limited and partial nature, CBMs are clearly insufficient to achieve the ultimate objective of disarmament in outer space. The Committee therefore should look even further in order to achieve a universal, comprehensive, legally binding, multilateral and effectively verifiable instrument banning the arms race in outer space. My Government has concluded the rearrangement of the organs involved in outer space activities in Brazil and consolidated them under the coordination of the recently established Brazilian Space Agency (AEB), of civilian nature, under the direct authority of the Presidency of the Republic, to coordinate national space activities, thus reaffirming our commitment to the peaceful use of outer space.

We are all indebted to Ambassador Shannon of Canada for his continuous efforts to allow for the institutionalized negotiation of a treaty dealing with fissile material for nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices. We firmly believe that the future treaty should effectively deal with existing stockpiles if it is to have the necessary impact. Without diminishing the relevance of a prohibition of future production, we believe that, at present, it is the existence of large quantities of plutonium and highly enriched uranium and possible uncertainties about its control that pose the greatest proliferation risks both horizontally and vertically. We understand that there are differing views in this area and we are prepared to discuss the issue within an ad hoc committee. It seems to us that trying to define the scope of the future agreement through the mandate of the committee, when there are known differences of opinion, is tantamount to rejecting negotiation. We are hopeful that the obvious relevance of this matter for the disarmament and non-proliferation framework would lead delegations to a more flexible position.

We are again confronted with a situation where we reach the final stages of our deliberations and have not been able to overcome the obstacles to an expansion of the Conference. We are particularly concerned with this situation and want to restate our delegation's position that the composition of the Conference has long ceased to adequately reflect the different realities of today's world. Our composition stems from the cold war era and largely reflects the predominant situation of the time. It is unnecessary to recall that a lack of representativity in the composition of the Conference adversely affects its work. Although this circumstance is attenuated by the fact that observers have been fully able to contribute to our work, the essence of the problem remains and we must continue to strive for an urgent and appropriate solution.

(Mr. Jaquaribe, Brazil)

We are thankful for the enlightened and careful efforts our Special Coordinator on the agenda, Ambassador Norberg of Sweden, has undertaken in carrying out consultations on this important and delicate issue. We believe that the "Decalogue" contains all the necessary elements for the work of the Conference. Nevertheless, we also believe that without abandoning the pursuit of long-established goals, we should also look into less ambitious undertakings that have a more propitious outlook for a successful conclusion and which would gradually lead us to the realization of our basic objectives. We are convinced that the significance of the end of the cold war, beyond the disarmament cliche it has become, has yet to be fully assessed and effectively explored in what relates to the disarmament possibilities it has opened.

Let me conclude by extending our continuous appreciation to Ambassador Kamal of Pakistan, our Coordinator for improved and effective functioning, not only for the successful deliberations he has led, but also for the ability of allowing them to be a highly enjoyable exercise.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank the representative of Brazil for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair.

Before giving the floor to the chairmen of the ad hoc committees to introduce their reports, which are now available in English, I should like to draw your attention to the final paragraphs in the reports of NSA, outer space and TIA which are for the time being bracketed. As you are aware, this issue is under intensive consultations and I am confident that this question will be solved before their adoption next week. I hope that, at our informal plenary meeting later today, I shall be in a position to make a proposal in this regard for your consideration.

With that in mind, I now give the floor to Mrs. Bauta Solés of Cuba, who will introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space and who I understand will also make a short statement on behalf of her own delegation.

Mrs. BAUTA SOLES (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I should first like to register our delegation's satisfaction at seeing you preside over the Conference on Disarmament at this important stage in its work. Our thanks also go to your predecessor, Ambassador Brotodiningrat of Indonesia.

I cannot address the subject of concern to us this morning without voicing our satisfaction at the presence in this room of so many illustrious people and our thanks for the contributions they have made, through their statements, to our work.

I have the honour to introduce to this Conference on behalf of Ambassador José Pérez Novoa of Cuba, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, the report of that Committee, distributed as document CD/1271 of 23 August 1994, which relates the work undertaken by the Committee during this year's meetings. In pursuance of the mandate given to the Committee by the Conference, we continued examining and identifying, in

(Mrs. Bauta Solés, Cuba)

substantive debates, relevant aspects of preventing the arms race in outer space. Although the pace of work was slow at times we can feel satisfied at having advanced towards a better understanding of this crucial problem.

It is not my intention in introducing this report to analyse the substance, a task which should be left to the relevant authorities in our respective capitals, although I must point out that the need to improve the existing legal regime and work on confidence-building measures has once again been raised, many delegations identifying this as an avenue to explore with a view to preventing an arms race in outer space.

I would like on this occasion to express my appreciation and gratitude to all delegations for their cooperation, especially the coordinators of the regional groups, China and Sweden and Mr. Vorobiev of the Russian Federation and Professor Natalino Ronzitti of Italy, who as Friends of the Chair provided help on subjects concerning confidence-building measures and legal and terminological issues, respectively. My very special thanks go to the secretariat for its invaluable assistance throughout this session; I would particularly like to thank Mr. Vladimir Bogomolov and Mrs. Dawn Scott, whose constant availability enabled us to conclude our work successfully.

This, then, is the report of the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. Now, with your permission, Sir, I would like to make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of Cuba.

On 29 August, Cuba announced its decision to sign the Treaty of Tlatelolco against the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin America. It is my delegation's honour to transmit this decision by the Cuban Government to the Conference on Disarmament. The decision by the Cuban Government was announced in a letter to the President of Brazil, His Excellency Mr. Itamar Franco, by Cuba's President, Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, in recognition of Brazil's interest in the matter and its confidence that the people of Cuba takes its commitments seriously. Cuba also informed the Mexican Foreign Office of its decision, taking account of its similar interest and the fact that Mexico has supported Cuban positions on this. For our Government, the decision is of great significance. It is a gesture on our part out of our desire for peace in the region and as part of our efforts to make a practical contribution to bringing the Latin American peoples closer together and integrating them. The Cuban Government has taken this step whilst the only nuclear Power in our hemisphere is stepping up its economic, commercial and financial blockade policy, reinforcing its campaign against Cuba and maintaining by force, against the will of our people, its illegal occupation of a part of the country through which its vessels, some bearing nuclear weapons, pass.

In future, a solution to this problem must be regarded as a precondition for our remaining a party to the Treaty. In the circumstances, our decision underscores the confidence that Cuba has in the future of Latin America, including the noble objectives of the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mrs. Bauta Solés for her statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico, to introduce the report of that Committee.

Mr. MARIN BOSCH (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): Allow me, Sir, to offer you the congratulations of the Mexican delegation on the way in which you have been discharging your functions as President of the Conference. I can assure you of my delegation's fullest cooperation. As the representative of the depositary Government of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, I would, through you, like to thank the representative of Cuba and say that we are duly cognizant of the Cuban Government's decision to accede to the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

I shall now introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, and I will do so in English - which tells you the language of the original draft.

(continued in English)

It is an honour to introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, which is contained in document CD/1273. This report was adopted by the Committee on 24 August 1994. As you may recall, the mandate of the Committee directs it to "negotiate intensively a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, which would contribute effectively to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects, to the process of nuclear disarmament and therefore to the enhancement of international peace and security". In discharging its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee decided to hold a general exchange of views on all aspects of a nuclear-test-ban treaty. The Ad Hoc Committee and its two working groups have worked on establishing the elements and elaborating draft language on the legal and institutional aspects as well as the verification regime of the treaty. The Committee decided to include the results of its ongoing negotiations on the draft treaty in the rolling text which is contained in the appendix to the technical part of the report.

Part 1 of the appendix represents the elaboration of provisions of the treaty which command a certain degree of consensus. Part 2 of the appendix contains provisions which need more extensive negotiation. Part 3 comprises a list of documents containing proposals of delegations. The Committee recommends to the Conference on Disarmament that the appendix to the report as well as the documents listed in the report and other relevant documents be used for further negotiations and drafting of the treaty. It further recommends that work continue on the treaty during the period 28 November to 16 December and possibly longer. Lastly, the Committee recommends that it be re-established at the outset of the 1995 session of the Conference on Disarmament with its present mandate.

I should also note that this Ad Hoc Committee report covers the period up to 24 August. As work has continued since then, it will be updated in a

(Mr. Marín Bosch)

revised report to be submitted to the Committee on Monday, 5 September for its consideration and adoption. It will then be introduced to the plenary on 6 September.

Allow me to conclude by offering my sincere appreciation to the chairmen of the two working groups, Ambassadors Hoffmann of Germany and Dembinski of Poland, as well as for the work of the Friends of the Chair. Allow me finally to thank the secretariat and, in particular, the Committee Secretary, Ms. Mackby.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Marín Bosch for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency in Armaments, Ambassador Boytha of Hungary, who will introduce the report of that Committee.

Mr. BOYTHA (Hungary): To begin with, Sir, I should like to congratulate you, not only on your assumption of the presidency of the Conference, but also on the efficient manner in which you coordinated our work in its last and very decisive phase. At the close of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency in Armaments I have the honour to introduce its report as contained in document CD/1274. You may see that this Ad Hoc Committee was able to use the time available to it fully. We had 22 regular meetings, but in addition we had a number of informal meetings too. I wish to thank all delegates participating in the Ad Hoc Committee and, in particular, the Group Coordinators as well as China and Sweden for their cooperation. I also wish to thank Mr. Jerzy Zaleski and the secretariat for the efficient assistance continuously given to the Committee.

The report which I have the honour to introduce now reflects the work we have done. It reflects the manifold nature of our subject and the fact that we have dealt with a number of controversial issues. You may see in the report that it is comprehensive and analytical. It is the outcome of the spirit of cooperation and of compromise displayed by all delegations who participated in our discussions. We have in our report a considerable portion devoted to a survey of the substantive work done during this session, which was intended to reflect all important points underlying our discussions. Then in accordance with our mandate, we addressed more specific parts of this large domain, mainly military holdings and procurement through national production, transfer of high technology with military applications and weapons of mass destruction. The last part of our report is devoted to the examination of other related aspects and, among them, you may find new ones too, not only topics which have been dealt with earlier and further elaborated on now, but even new aspects.

I wish to draw your attention to the idea of the code of conduct for international transfers of arms and the necessity to elaborate the aspect of dealing with massive production of sophisticated advanced armaments and also the organizational structure and size of armed forces. Importance was given to excessive and destabilizing accumulations of arms; the conversion or closure of military production facilities was also considered. Openness and transparency in nuclear matters was addressed with great emphasis, and we

(Mr. Boytha, Hungary)

discussed regional approaches to be considered in parallel with global approaches to transparency in armaments. We agreed upon this report in full, except for the last paragraph, as already indicated by you, Mr. President. This is now proposed in brackets, because no consensus was reached on the last paragraph concerning recommendations. Otherwise the entire text was adopted ad referendum and is now submitted to the Conference.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Boytha for his statement and also for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-nuclear-weapon States against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons, Ambassador Guillaume of Belgium, who will introduce the report of that Committee.

Baron GUILLAUME (Belgium) (translated from French): First of all, may I tell you how happy we are at seeing you presiding over the Conference on Disarmament at such a crucial point in its activities? Your professional abilities, your feeling for diplomacy, your adroitness and wisdom are not only recognized features but they are particularly appreciated in this difficult time for the Conference on Disarmament as we draft our reports.

I have the honour to introduce to you today the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-nuclear-weapon States against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons, document CD/1275, which was adopted ad referendum by the Ad Hoc Committee on 30 August this year. The report is the fruit of efforts by all the delegates who took part in its work, and I believe it to be an objective reflection of what happened.

This year the Committee adopted a new approach, trying to fit the subject of negative security assurances into a broader context whilst keeping it closer to present-day reality. Thus for a large part of the debate we tried to meet the concerns of some with regard to their countries' interests and to understand the fears of others in the field of both global and regional security. In today's uncertain world, how can we respond to both challenges and threats? We have been looking for the magic formula that could reconcile the two, welcoming the challenges and warding off the threats. In all we had a very rich debate, even if we were not able to arrive at concrete proposals that might have been reflected in the report.

In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to the group coordinators, China and Sweden, who were very helpful in our bureau meetings, and all delegations who were unstinting in their assistance. Their cooperation and the precious assistance provided by the secretariat, in particular Mr. Bogomolov, for whom I have nothing but praise, made it possible for me to present to you the report you now have before you.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Guillaume for his statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair.

(The President)

I should like to thank all the chairmen of the ad hoc committees for their reports, and inform you that these reports will be taken up for adoption at the next plenary meeting, on Tuesday, 6 September, at 10 a.m.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Chandra, the representative of India, in order to make his statement.

Mr. CHANDRA (India): At the outset, Mr. President, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Conference on Disarmament. I am confident that under your customary wise and able guidance and leadership the Conference will continue to function smoothly and effectively in pursuance of its tasks. I would also like to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Brotodiningrat of Indonesia, for his excellent conduct of the proceedings of the Conference. Similarly Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico deserves our sincere thanks for his dynamic leadership of the NTB Committee, as do Ambassadors Hoffmann and Dembinksi for all their efforts.

I take the floor today primarily to express our views on the future of CTBT. I had occasion to speak on this subject on 2 June 1994, but since then there has been further evolution in our thinking and I would like to make the following comments on some aspects of the proposed CTBT.

The CTBT should be comprehensive: extending to all environments and envisaging no threshold. It should aim for complete cessation of nuclear tests by all States for all times. There should be no exceptions for carrying out nuclear tests under any circumstances. We have closely examined the various views expressed on "preparations" to be included in the scope of the treaty. While inclusion of imminent "preparations" is laudable, defining the term is difficult, its verification would also be costly. Accordingly, we feel that "preparations" need not be directly referred to in the article dealing with basic obligations. We favour special monitoring arrangements for established nuclear-weapon test sites and eventually some transparency norms could be negotiated.

I would like to thank all the Friends of the Chair in the Working Group on Verification for their valuable contributions. In particular, Dr. Peter Marshall of the United Kingdom deserves special thanks for his dedication and excellent papers produced by his teams. The options given in the working papers on verification techniques would help us considerably in taking decisions in this regard.

As for the entire CTBT, the verification system should be universal in its application, non-discriminatory and should guarantee equal access to all States. Accordingly, we do not favour the idea that countries that have accepted full-scope safeguards as part of their obligations under the NPT need not accept all aspects of a CTBT verification regime. At present, we believe that a cost-effective combination of seismic, radionuclide, hydroacoustic and infrasonic monitoring techniques would be adequate to verify a CTBT in the lower atmosphere, under water and underground. A nuclear-test explosion in outer space would require the use of EMP sensors, optical flash and

(Mr. Chandra, India)

fluorescent sensors and satellite monitoring. Inclusion of these techniques in a verification regime is, however, questionable as it would provide only marginal utility in terms of assurance while enhancing the cost manifold.

Of the four verification techniques, an international seismic monitoring network is considered by us as the most critical. Besides a seismic station offered for participation in GSETT-3, India also has few radionuclide monitoring stations which may be upgraded. For CTBT verification, radionuclide monitoring would extend to cover short-lived isotopes in particulate form and noble gases - krypton and xenon. We do not share the view expressed by some that radionuclide monitoring be on-line because of the financial implications. Co-location of seismic stations with infrasound arrays should also be considered as a cost-effective measure. This would enable infrasonic data to be provided on-line. Regarding hydroacoustic monitoring, we had suggested a reduction in the number of moored stations by careful examination and by establishing some coastal seismic stations.

The secretariat and the IDC should have the capability to both detect and discriminate between events. Many States do not have the capability to analyse large volumes of data. In our view, for practical purposes, the daily IDC bulletins should be prefaced by an analytical summary. Any anomalous event should be brought to the attention of the Executive Council immediately. Of course, all States would enjoy access to IDC data to derive their own analysis and interpretation. In all cases, the IDC should play an analytical role and not be limited merely to data collection and dissemination.

On-site inspections would be the most intrusive element of the verification regime. This would be a necessary part of the verification regime for deterrence purposes as well. We visualize routine visits only for authentication purposes and an on-site inspection to be a rare event. On-site inspection would have to be approved by the Executive Council after due consideration and in an appropriate time framework, in which provision should be made for obligatory consultation and clarification to clarify the ambiguity.

I would like to thank Mr. Jaguaribe of Brazil, the Friend of the Chair on organization, for his paper WP.154. We have kept our options open on the organization till further negotiations are completed on the various verification techniques. We believe that the structure of an international organization would consist of a conference of States parties, an executive council and a technical secretariat (including the IDC). It is also felt that a scientific advisory group may be constituted to provide independent and relevant inputs to the Executive Council. This would be relevant when the Executive Council is required to take a decision on sensitive issues like for instance review of technological developments.

On entry into force, we would like particularly to thank Ambassador Vattani, the Friend of the Chair, for providing six options. Different views have been expressed for EIF, from a limited requirement of ratification by the five declared nuclear-weapon States to the expanded

(Mr. Chandra, India)

membership of the Conference on Disarmament. Our view has been that while the former is too limited, the latter would unnecessarily delay the EIF of a CTBT. Certain other countries which are key to the success of a universal and non-discriminatory CTBT must be included at the outset. We therefore believe that EIF should be based on ratification by a reasonable and representative group of countries.

The duration of the treaty should in our view be unlimited. Given the possibility of technological developments, it would be necessary to have provisions for a periodic review conference. As in the other international treaties, the decision-making and substantive issues in the Executive Council or the conference of States parties should be on the basis of a two-thirds majority, present and voting.

In regard to the "Preamble" section, we feel that a clear linkage to nuclear disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons should be established. Since we are not a signatory to the NPT, any reference to the same would not be acceptable to us. In a larger context, we believe that the norm of non-proliferation and disarmament should be strengthened by a non-use agreement.

We look forward to a work programme for the inter-sessional period closely linked to textual progress in the rolling text with the aim of concluding a CTBT at the earliest possible time.

Turning now to the prohibition of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear devices, in keeping with our co-sponsorship of the United Nations General Assembly consensus resolution on "cut-off", we had hoped for the early establishment of an ad hoc committee based on the resolution with a negotiating mandate to negotiate a convention on "cut-off" which should be non-discriminatory, multilaterally negotiated and internationally and effectively verifiable. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to agree to a mandate till now. We sincerely hope that an appropriate mandate based on the United Nations General Assembly resolution will be agreed upon before the end of this CD session. In this respect we would particularly like to thank Ambassador Shannon of Canada, the Special Coordinator on "cut-off", for his tireless efforts.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Chandra for his statement and for his kind words towards the Chair. That concludes my list of speakers for today. Does any other delegation wish to take the floor at this stage? I recognize the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. TCHOE (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (translated from French): Mr. President, like previous speakers, I wish you every success during your presidency.

I shall be very brief. During the present session, the delegations of Japan and the Netherlands have alluded to my country's nuclear programme and NPT-related matters. I do not wish to challenge their points. My Government

(Mr. Tchoé, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

is aware that some countries have voiced doubts in this regard. To dispel such doubts and settle my country's nuclear problems, my Government is discussing and negotiating with the United States of America, and our hopes are pinned on those negotiations. I should like to stress to this Conference that certain countries with a special interest in the matter should adopt the right attitude to encourage the process and settle my country's nuclear questions instead of pouring cold water on the proceedings - if they really want to settle all the regional security problems on the peninsula. My Government's determination and resolve to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes will remain unshaken. This idea, conceived by President Kim Il Song, who died two months ago, will certainly be carried out by our leader, Kim Jong Il. Hence those who would wish to see the nuclear problems solved should encourage efforts devoted to settling them, and the process of evolution of the situation.

The PRESIDENT: Are there any further requests for the floor? I recognize the representative of Brazil, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. JAGUARIBE (Brazil): I take the floor very briefly to announce the satisfaction of my Government with the announcement of the Cuban Government of its intention of ratifying the Treaty of Tlatelolco, of which we were kindly given advance notice.

The PRESIDENT: Does any other delegation wish to take the floor at this stage? I see no further requests for the floor. As I mentioned earlier, I should like to proceed to discuss the report of the Chairman of the informal open-ended consultations on the improved and effective functioning of the Conference, which was circulated as document CD/WP.419. May I take it that, in accordance and in conformity with past practice, the Conference takes note, with appreciation, of that report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I now turn to the informal paper circulated by the secretariat containing the timetable of meetings to be held next week by the Conference and its subsidiary bodies. This timetable has been prepared in consultation with the chairmen of the ad hoc committees. As usual, it is merely indicative and may be changed if necessary. On that understanding, I suggest that it be adopted. I see no comments.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to remind you that this afternoon at 3.30 p.m. the Conference will hold an informal plenary meeting to continue consideration of the technical parts of the draft annual report to the General Assembly and any other substantive paragraphs. I hope that we will be able to conclude this exercise in time to allow for a meeting of Working Group 1 of the Ad Hoc Committee on NTB.

The next plenary meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 6 September at 10 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/PV.691
6 September 1994

ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on
Tuesday, 6 September 1994, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Sirous Nasseri (Islamic Republic of Iran)

GE.94-64316 (E)

The PRESIDENT: I declare open the 691st plenary meeting of the Conference.

I have on my list of speakers for today the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban and the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Detect and Identify Seismic Events.

Before I give them the floor, and as I informed you at our last plenary meeting, we shall take up for adoption, today, the reports of the Ad Hoc Committees on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, Transparency in Armaments and Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-nuclear Weapon States Against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons.

Mr. BAIDI-NEJAD (Islamic Republic of Iran): On behalf of the delegations of Egypt, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Mongolia, Myanmar, Peru, Sri Lanka, Venezuela and my own country, I have the honour to make the following statement.

Paragraph 20 of the Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament underscores the importance of effective measures of nuclear disarmament and prevention of nuclear war as deserving the highest priority among measures of arms limitation and disarmament. The document, in paragraph 32, reaffirmed also the need for effective arrangements, as appropriate, to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, which could strengthen the security of those States and international peace and security.

Following the demise of the cold war, dramatic positive changes have taken place in the international political climate. As a consequence, the world has witnessed the arrangement of a number of significant arms limitation and disarmament agreements. The precedent of the conclusion of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the beginning of a process of nuclear disarmament by the United States and Russian Federation, and the measures taken by other former Soviet republics in the framework of complete nuclear disarmament demonstrate clearly that nuclear disarmament is not only within the frame of practical implementation but can also be achieved in the foreseeable future if only the political will exists. Apparently, less reliance is now being placed by nuclear-weapon States on the role of nuclear weapons. The process of de-emphasizing this role and reducing the dependence upon them should be continued and carried forward as a significant step towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Non-aligned Conference recently held in Cairo reiterated the belief that, in order to be effective and lasting, the approach towards international security should be non-discriminatory and balanced and should seek security for all through total nuclear disarmament, elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and progressive measures of reduction of conventional arms. The Conference restated that security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States can contribute positively to addressing some of the dangers inherent in the

(Mr. Baidi-Nejad, Islamic Republic of Iran)

presence of nuclear weapons and urged the Conference on Disarmament to negotiate, as a matter of priority, an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances and to undertake negotiations for the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons within a time-bound framework.

Accordingly, the members of the Group of 21 already parties to the NPT attach utmost importance to both questions of negative and positive security assurances. It is their conviction that the only completely effective security assurances against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons lie in a prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and a complete elimination of these weapons. Existence of nuclear weapons constitutes in itself a threat to international security and a factor which encourages proliferation. For this reason, and pending the achievement of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, it is imperative for the international community to develop effective measures and arrangements to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against these weapons, measures and arrangements which can contribute positively towards achieving a most effective regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects.

In this respect, the above-mentioned delegations wish to present to the Conference a draft protocol on security assurances which would be attached to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as its integral part. They are confident that the protocol drafted on the basis of a simple common formula (i.e. the nuclear-weapon States pledge themselves never to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States), would be given early and serious consideration by the members of the Conference. The text of the protocol is annexed to my statement.

In conclusion, let me request on behalf of the above-mentioned delegations that this statement be issued as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for his statement. I should now like to give the floor to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico, who will introduce the report of that Committee, which reflects the status of the negotiations up to 5 September and is contained in the document before you, in English, CD/1273/Rev.1.

Mr. MARÍN BOSCH (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): In my capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, I have the honour to submit to the Conference the revised report by the Committee which is to be found in document CD/1273/Rev.1. As you will recall, last Thursday I had the honour to introduce the Ad Hoc Committee's report and now I am presenting its first revised edition which, as the President has just said, contains the changes made in the negotiations held between 24 August and yesterday, when the Committee approved the document in question. May I say that the alterations by comparison with last week's report are very few and are basically to be found under the following headings: status of the protocols, page 27; preamble, pages 30 and 31; various parts of the section on

(Mr. Marín Bosch, Mexico)

verification, that is, pages 62 through 69, and, concerning footnotes, a series of changes agreed to in the past few days. I have the impression that this document could be approved by the Conference in the plenary we shall be holding tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban for the presentation of his report and, as you suggested, at our next plenary meeting tomorrow on 7 September, we will take up this report for adoption and it is my understanding that this will be done on the basis of the English text. I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Detect and Identify Seismic Events to present the progress report of the Group on its 39th session, as contained in document CD/1270 and Corrigendum 1.

Mr. DAHLMAN (Sweden): I will today report to you on the meeting of the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts held from 8 to 19 August 1994 and introduce the Group's progress report contained in document CD/1270 and Corr.1. The Group's session was attended by experts and representatives from 33 countries.

The session was devoted to finalizing the planning of the Group's third Technical Test, which we refer to as GSETT-3. This test is a joint effort to develop, test and evaluate new concepts for an experimental International Seismic Monitoring System. A report summarizing the overall concept of GSETT-3, its functions and components and matters of organization and cost was presented to the CD on 2 June 1994 as document CD/1254.

The main conclusion of the recent session is that the Ad Hoc Group, after reviewing the planning situation, decided to go ahead with GSETT-3 as planned and to start the full-scale testing by 1 January 1995. The Group recognizes that not all of the seismological stations envisaged for participation will be ready to provide data by 1 January, but the Group nevertheless considers that the number of stations already committed, or expected to be committed during the remainder of 1994, will permit full-scale testing of the system by 1 January.

The Group's elaboration was based on draft GSETT-3 documentation containing operational manuals for the experimental International Data Centre and participating stations and plans for the evaluation of the results and experiences. These extensive documents, comprising more than 500 pages, were prepared by the three working groups earlier established by the Group. I would like to recognize the important work carried out by the working groups under the guidance of the three convenors: Mr. Mykkeltveit of Norway, responsible for planning, Mr. Muirhead of Australia, responsible for operations, and Mr. Massinon of France, responsible for evaluation. Status reports from the three working groups are annexed to the progress report.

The planning of GSETT-3 and the preparation of the draft documentation was greatly facilitated by an informal workshop on preparations for GSETT-3 convened in Alexandria, Virginia, United States of America from 25 to 29 April 1994 and attended by 28 participants from 12 countries.

(Mr. Dahlman, Sweden)

The Group agreed that the reviewed and amended operational manuals and other planning documents have to be revised by the working groups as the detailed planning is proceeding. A modern electronic information handling system has been implemented to provide all GSETT-3 participants with the most current information on-line.

The issue of the duration of the test has been raised several times also outside the Group of Scientific Experts. The Ad Hoc Group discussed the issue, but finds it difficult to give any precise indication of the duration of GSETT-3. The Group therefore reiterates its earlier view that for financial planning purposes, countries participating in GSETT-3 should be prepared to support their participation for a minimum of one year after the start of the full-scale experiment, which means for the whole of 1995.

The Group reviewed the current status of participation. Annex 1 to the progress report and the corrigendum lists those countries which so far have committed Alpha and Beta stations and Gamma data. Gamma data are supplementary seismic information provided by National Data Centres on a voluntary basis to be used in the evaluation of GSETT-3. Annex 1 also lists countries from which commitments are still lacking. As for the Alpha stations, which primarily are determining the detection capability of the system, 38 stations in 17 countries are currently committed out of the 59 stations in 35 countries specified for the Alpha network.

As for the Beta stations, the Group has received information from 30 countries on plans to contribute data from, in all, 93 Beta stations, out of which 76 stations in 22 countries have already been committed. The Beta stations are primarily used to improve the location of seismic events detected by the Alpha network and data are retrieved automatically by the experimental International Data Centre using electronic means when needed. The Group has recommended that at least 100 Beta stations be used in GSETT-3. While 93 planned Beta stations might look quite close to the anticipated 100, the geographical distribution of the Beta stations so far available is most uneven.

Even if participation has increased substantially the last few months - and the Group has good reasons to believe that further commitments are to be expected soon, there is still a strong need to ensure commitment from remaining Alpha stations and to obtain an adequate global coverage of Beta stations. Most of the stations needed are in fact in operation today and many are connected to international data exchange channels. What we are lacking is the formal consent to utilize data from those stations in GSETT-3. I have, on behalf of the Group, approached a number of countries to seek such formal approval and I urge your support in getting the necessary commitments.

In some other cases there is a need to establish new or upgrade existing stations or to establish and finance necessary communication links between a station and the experimental International Data Centre. The Group recognizes that a country whose participation is essential to GSETT-3 might need support in this respect, and the Group encourages other countries to assist by providing technical and financial support.

(Mr. Dahlman, Sweden)

The experimental International Data Centre (EIDC), now being established in Arlington, Virginia, United States of America, is a key facility for GSETT-3. The Group noted with great satisfaction the rapid progress in developing and conducting operations at the Experimental International Data Centre. To establish and operate the Experimental International Data Centre is a substantial undertaking, technically and financially. The IDC staff today amounts to 30 persons, a number that will increase to 45 by 1 January. International staffing of the Experimental International Data Centre is an important objective, and during the Group's session some 10 qualified international applicants were selected.

The Experimental International Data Centre is up and running and today receives data routinely from 12 Alpha and some 20 Beta stations. It receives more than one billion data units (bytes)/day, corresponding to about half a million pages per day, and locates on the average 20 seismic events each day. When the full-scale testing begins in January it is expected that the centre will receive 10 times more data and define and locate 10 times more seismic events. The flexible software at the Experimental International Data Centre also makes it possible to compute and provide a number of different parameters to facilitate the evaluation of the IDC products.

A thorough evaluation is an essential element of GSETT-3 and the Group has established a plan for an extensive evaluation process in which individual countries contribute through their National Data Centres. The evaluation will cover the functions and the technical systems at stations and at the Experimental International Data Centre and the procedures for exchanging, handling and analysing data. It will also include a careful review of the operational manuals in light of the practical experiences gained. The capability of the system to detect and locate seismic events and to provide further information on reported events will also be evaluated.

The Group discussed a proposal for cooperation with the scientific community and concluded that such cooperation is and will remain essential. The Group agreed to provide the data collected during GSETT-3 to the scientific community in a suitable manner and at a suitable time.

GSETT-3 has now left the planning stage and is gradually developing into a full-scale phase when an experimental global system is up and running. This test will not only involve a lot of technical facilities around the world, it will also involve hundreds of people in many countries who now will work hard and cooperate closely to make GSETT-3 a successful undertaking. We are now dependant on their skill and dedication and on the support they get from their countries and their authorities to conduct their important work.

The evaluation of GSETT-3 has started and is a continuous process. The Group expects that the first preliminary results from the full experimental system will be available soon after the full-scale phase has commenced. The Group therefore suggests that subject to approval by the Conference on Disarmament, its next session should be convened from 20 February to 3 March 1995. The main task during that session will be to review, evaluate and report on initial results from the full-scale phase of GSETT-3.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Dr. Dahlman for the presentation of this report and would ask if the recommendation contained in paragraph 19 of the report, to the effect that the next meeting of the Ad Hoc Group be convened from 20 February to 3 March 1995, is acceptable to the Conference. I see no comments.

It is so decided.

Before proceeding to the adoption of the reports on the Ad Hoc Committees on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, Transparency in Armaments and NSA, as contained in documents CD/1271, CD/1274, CD/1275 respectively, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that, at our informal plenary meeting held on Thursday, 1 September, in the course of the consideration of the technical parts of the draft annual report (CD/WP.456), we agreed that the final paragraphs contained in the reports of each Ad Hoc Committee, which are currently bracketed, would be deleted and that a new paragraph would be inserted into Section J of CD/WP.456, entitled "Consideration and adoption of the Annual Report of the Conference and any other Report as Appropriate to the General Assembly of the United Nations" and that that paragraph would read as follows:

> "The Conference recognized that in 1995 it would have a number of urgent and important areas for negotiation, which would be likely to draw heavily on its time and resources. It therefore recommended that the balance of future work be considered more fully by the Conference before it decides which Ad Hoc Committees, besides the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, should be established in 1995. The Conference also requested the current President and the incoming President to remain seized of these issues and conduct appropriate consultations during the intersessional period in order to come up with recommendations that would ensure the prompt and effective start of the work of its 1995 session on substantive issues."

May I take it that this agreement, reached in an informal meeting on 1 September, can be formalized here today?

It is so decided.

I therefore, now put to you for adoption, without the final bracketed paragraph and also without the footnote, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, as contained in document CD/1271. I see no comments.

It is so decided.

I now put to the Conference, for adoption, without the final bracketed paragraph, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency in Armaments (document CD/1274). I see no comments.

It is so decided.

(The President)

I now put to the Conference, for adoption, again without the final bracketed paragraph, and without the footnote, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-nuclear Weapon States Against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons. I note in this regard the request of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the inclusion of their statement as a document that can be listed in this report. I see no comments on this.

It is so decided.

Does any other delegation wish to take the floor at this stage?

If not, I wish to adjourn this plenary meeting and convene an informal plenary in approximately 15 minutes, no later than 11.15 a.m., to continue consideration of the draft annual report of the CD to the General Assembly, which is contained in document CD/WP.456/Rev.1.

The next, and last, plenary meeting of the session will be held tomorrow, Wednesday, 7 September 1994, at 3.00 p.m.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/PV.692
7 September 1994

ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Wednesday, 7 September 1994, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Sirous Nasseri (Islamic Republic of Iran)

GE.94-64310 (E)

The PRESIDENT: I declare open the 692nd plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

I have on my list of speakers for today the representative of Mexico, in his capacity as Coordinator of the Group of 21; the representative of Canada, in his capacity as Special Coordinator on "cut-off"; the representative of the Netherlands, who will speak in his capacity as Coordinator of the Western Group on "cut-off"; the representative of Chile, who will also speak on behalf of a group of non-members; the representative of Poland, who will speak as Coordinator of the Eastern European Group; and the representative of Morocco. However, before giving the floor to those speakers, and in accordance with my announcement at the plenary meeting held yesterday, 6 September, I should like to put to the Conference for adoption the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, as contained in document CD/1273/Rev.1. May I take it that the Conference adopts this report? I see no comments.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all delegations for their cooperation and understanding, which will enable us to conclude our annual session today, as scheduled.

I should now like to turn to the draft annual report of the Conference to the United Nations General Assembly, as contained in document CD/WP.456/Rev.1. As you are aware, the only pending issue now is the inclusion of a substantive paragraph relating to the results of the consultations undertaken by the Special Coordinator on "cut-off", Ambassador Shannon of Canada. You have a text before you which has been the subject of intensive informal consultations. May I ask whether the Conference is now prepared to accept the inclusion of this text under paragraph 29 of the draft annual report?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I should now like to give the floor to the representative of Mexico, Ambassador Marín Bosch, who will make a statement on behalf of the Group of 21.

Mr. MARIN BOSCH (Mexico) (translated from Spanish): The Group of 21 would like to place on record the following statement. The Group is aware that the Conference on Disarmament must adapt to a changing international situation. Those changes pose new challenges and offer fresh opportunities and thus may require different approaches to certain disarmament questions. The Group of 21 is ready to explore these questions with other delegations with a view to enhancing the role of the CD.

Although much has changed over the past few years, many things remain the same. In particular the serious threat posed by the accumulation of nuclear weapons still looms large. The development of ever more sophisticated delivery systems has continued. These questions raise some issues which should be addressed in the CD in order to identify specific measures that could be the object of negotiations in this international forum.

(Mr. Marín Bosch, Mexico)

In performing its task as the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating body, the CD should bear in mind the purposes for which it was established. These are set out in the Final Document of the United Nations General Assembly's 1978 special session on disarmament and later in the CD's own agenda (CD/12 of 12 April 1979). All CD members have agreed to the priorities contained therein and any changes to them will require similar agreements. It is against that background that the so-called "annual agenda" or work programme should be considered at the beginning of each yearly session.

In 1994 the Conference on Disarmament did not make adequate use of the time at its disposal. In January it established four ad hoc committees, but only one of them registered significant progress. In the other three committees there was little if any advance beyond the reiteration of known positions. When it came to the writing of the respective reports, however, there were attempts to depart from established practices and agreed ground rules that have served the CD well in the past. Report drafting should be a factual and straightforward exercise; it was never meant to supply a last-minute opportunity to disguise differences or the lack of substantive progress on a given item.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Marín Bosch, the representative of Mexico, for his statement, and now give the floor to the representative of Canada, Ambassador Shannon, who will speak in his capacity as Special Coordinator on the issue of "cut-off".

Mr. SHANNON (Canada): Today marks the final day of the 1994 session of the Conference on Disarmament. The session has been remarkable for the speed and vigour with which it has undertaken a negotiation new to it, on the comprehensive test-ban treaty. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban will provide us with a comprehensive rolling text, and the interval to the inter-sessional period in November will provide delegations and capitals time for careful study, analysis and reflection. We should be well advanced by the beginning of the 1995 session.

The focus of my remarks today, however, will be on the progress we have achieved in consultations on the arrangement for the negotiation of a treaty banning the production of certain fissile material. While I regret that I cannot report that consensus has been achieved on a negotiating mandate, I am pleased that yesterday and today we were able to agree in principle that an ad hoc committee should be established as soon as a negotiating mandate is achieved. I want to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your personal intervention, which helped us reach this accommodation, and to thank as well those delegations from all groups who were prepared to bend enough to enable us to get this far on what has proved to be a very difficult proposition.

To recapitulate the process we have been through, it will be recalled that United Nations General Assembly resolution 48/75 L of 16 December 1993 laid the groundwork, calling for the negotiation of a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and their nuclear explosive

(Mr. Shannon, Canada)

devices, in the most appropriate forum. The Conference responded to the call on the opening day of the current session on 25 January by reaching the decision, in the framework of agenda item 2, entitled "Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament", to appoint, "as a first step, a Special Coordinator to seek the views of its members on the most appropriate arrangement to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices." Following my appointment as that Special Coordinator, I held numerous consultations throughout the session both bilaterally, with groups, and from time to time with item and monthly coordinators, and reported regularly on the progress of those consultations.

My first report to you in February laid the groundwork for the questions I proposed to ask delegations as I sought to determine the views of members on the most appropriate arrangement for the negotiation of such a treaty. When I next spoke to you, in March, I was able to report the emergence of a preponderant majority view among members that the Conference on Disarmament was the most appropriate international forum to negotiate such a treaty.

The next important step occurred when I was able to report at the end of June that the majority view that the Conference on Disarmament should be the venue for such a negotiation had become a consensus view. This represented a significant step forward from the United Nations General Assembly 48 resolution.

Since that time, I have held numerous consultations in an effort to obtain agreement on an appropriate negotiating mandate for the necessary committee. As delegations will recall, I referred to a formulation of a mandate in my statement to the plenary on 30 June. Under this formulation, based closely on the consensus language of United Nations General Assembly resolution 48/75 L of 16 December 1993, the Conference would have directed the establishment of an ad hoc committee with a mandate to negotiate a treaty on a ban on production of certain fissile material. Unfortunately, one group was unable to reach consensus among its members to support this formulation. My understanding is that one of the reasons, if not the principal reason, for the inability of the group to reach consensus was the absence of an express reference to stockpiles.

Based on my consultations with all groups, I concluded that an explicit reference in the mandate to existing stockpiles would not be acceptable to other groups. However, I have also stated my view that the absence of such a reference to stockpiles does not mean that stocks cannot be addressed once an ad hoc negotiating committee has been mandated and established. I made the point that in the discussions we would need to have early on in the ad hoc committee concerning, inter alia, the scope and verification dimension of a cut-off convention, a number of countries would want to set out their views on both scope and verification as well as on related issues such as transparency. No one took issue with this statement.

(Mr. Shannon, Canada)

It is widely recognized that a ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices is only one aspect of larger and even more complex issues relating to such material. The Start I and Start II treaties, under which large-scale dismantling of nuclear weapons in the United States of America and Russia is taking place, have focused attention on the question of fissile material removed from such weapons.

In an effort to draw together the many strands of this complex issue and to put the proposed work of the Conference on Disarmament in this area in this wider context, I proposed to groups for their consideration the establishment of an ad hoc committee with a mandate which recognizes the need for the international community to deal with issues relevant to the production, accumulation and disposition of fissile material and at the same time, as a first step in dealing with these matters, I proposed that the Conference direct the committee to negotiate a treaty on production. The formulation I proposed was as follows:

> "The Conference on Disarmament recognises the need for the international community to deal urgently and effectively with the growing dangers posed by the production, accumulation and disposition of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Accordingly,
>
> "1. The Conference on Disarmament decides to establish an ad hoc committee to deal with relevant fissile material questions.
>
> "2. As a first step, the Conference directs the Ad Hoc Committee to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
>
> "3. The Ad Hoc Committee will report to the Conference on Disarmament on the progress of its work before the conclusion of the 1994 session."

Unfortunately, that formulation also did not command consensus from the Conference. However, both proposed mandates are still on the table. Those groups or delegations which wish to do so are invited to comment on either or both draft mandates or to bring forward their own proposals.

To summarize, consensus has been reached among members that the Conference on Disarmament is the appropriate forum to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. In my view, the Conference on Disarmament thus has recognized and acknowledged its special responsibility to the world community to undertake a negotiation on this urgent issue. Agreement in principle has been reached for the establishment of an ad hoc committee on this issue subject to reaching agreement on a mandate. It now remains for the members of the Conference to agree on a negotiating mandate

(Mr. Shannon, Canada)

document. With the support of the Conference, I intend to continue my efforts during the inter-sessional period to secure a negotiating mandate which will be acceptable to all members.

In dealing with the problem of fissile material for nuclear weapons purposes, I am persuaded of the need to accommodate in some form the views of those delegations, on the one hand, who see the problem of the production of fissile material in the larger context with its accumulation and disposition dimensions, and those, on the other hand, who see the larger context of the problem as well, but who want as a first step to see an immediate start to the negotiation of a production ban.

We should all recognize that there are differing views in the area and that the proper place for the balancing of these views is in the course of a negotiation once the committee is established, and not before. As I suggested in the plenary on 1 September, an attempt to precisely define the scope of the negotiation through the mandate of the committee, when there are known and deeply felt differences, may well lead to a rejection of the negotiation. I hope that all delegations will bear this in mind as the process of consultation continues.

In conclusion, I look forward to continuing to work with all delegations. It is my hope to reach an agreement on a negotiating mandate as soon as possible in the inter-sessional period to present to the Conference at the commencement of its session in 1995.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Canada for his statement and I, for my part, express my deepest appreciation for the relentless efforts he has exerted in pursuance of this issue and I wish him success in the continuation of his work. I now give the floor to the representative of the Netherlands, Ambassador Ramaker, who will speak in his capacity as Coordinator of the Western Group on "cut-off".

Mr. RAMAKER (Netherlands): Mr. President, today I take the floor, as you said, to deliver a statement on behalf of the Western Group on the issue of negotiations on a ban of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices, or "cut-off".

The Western Group has listened with great interest to the progress report just presented by the CD's Special Coordinator on cut-off, Ambassador Shannon. The Western Group would like to commend the Special Coordinator for the way he has discharged himself of the responsibilities entrusted to him in the Presidential statement of 25 January last. The Western Group is encouraged by the consensus among members that the Conference is the appropriate forum to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and by the agreement, in principle, for the establishment of an ad hoc committee on this item.

The Western Group had expected that, on the basis of the consensus on the CD as the appropriate forum, the Conference would be able to agree on a negotiating mandate and to establish an ad hoc committee during its

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

1994 session. Most regrettably, that expectation has not been met. None the less, the Western Group continues to look forward to an early negotiation in the CD, and to that end supports the request that the Special Coordinator continue his consultations.

The Western Group would like to reiterate that it fully supports the original draft mandate, which is based on the wording of the United Nations General Assembly's consensus resolution 48/75 L. The Western Group further notes that this simple mandate enjoys the support of the preponderance of the members of the CD, and that only a handful of delegations has been unwilling to uphold the commitment embodied in the 1993 cut-off resolution. The simple draft mandate reads as follows:

> "1. The Conference on Disarmament decides to establish an ad hoc committee on a 'ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices'.
>
> "2. The Conference directs the Ad Hoc Committee to negotiate a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
>
> "3. The Ad Hoc Committee will report to the Conference on Disarmament on the progress of its work before the conclusion of the 1994 session."

In the view of the Western Group, CD members should seize the unique opportunity of the consensus reached in the United Nations General Assembly to begin, as soon as possible, the negotiation of a ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. The Western Group expresses the hope that the Special Coordinator can successfully conclude his consultations and declares its readiness to render him every support in doing so.

Finally, I would request you, Mr. President, to have this statement circulated as an official CD document.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Netherlands for his statement and I now give the floor to the representative of Chile, who, I understand, will first speak in his national capacity and then make a statement on behalf of a group of non-members.

Mr. BERGUÑO (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, allow me to express my appreciation of the way in which you have conducted our debates as the 1994 session of the Conference on Disarmament draws to a close. With your permission, I shall now make a statement on behalf of my Government, in Spanish, after which I will read out, in English, a joint statement by a group of 23 countries.

After introducing the report of the Committee on disarmament in outer space, the distinguished representative of Cuba announced her country's decision to accede to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, better known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and the

(Mr. Ramaker, Netherlands)

representatives of Brazil and Mexico, the latter being the depositary State for the agreement, took note of this important announcement.

I should just like, for the benefit of the States members and observers in the Conference on Disarmament, to draw attention to my country's interest in the rapid materialization of Cuba's membership of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. When this comes about, the provision in article 28, paragraph 1.(a), of the Treaty will have been met and the Treaty will come into force throughout its zone of application, a zone contiguous with those of the Antarctic Treaty to the south, the Treaty of Rarotonga to the west and the future denuclearized zone of Africa to the east. When the process of ratifying the amendments approved by the Tlatelolco General Conference is completed, there will be conferred upon the International Atomic Energy Agency, in addition to the monitoring obligations it already has with respect to safeguards, extensive powers to carry out the special inspections provided for in article 16, thus making a substantive contribution to the international non-proliferation regime. There is no need to recall here that the negative assurances which are currently under study in the committee of this Conference ably chaired by Ambassador Guillaume are already in effect for the member States of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, since all the nuclear States have for that purpose already signed Protocol II of the Treaty.

With this brief description of the significance of the imminent entry into force of the Treaty of Tlatelolco I will close my statement and turn to the reading of a text agreed to by the 23 countries.

(continued in English)

I would like to make the following statement on behalf of Australia, Bangladesh, Belarus, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Finland, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Senegal, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe.

Members of the Conference will recall that on 25 January 1994 we urged the Conference on Disarmament to reach a consensus resulting in expansion of its membership and that on 30 June 1994 we reiterated the need for a solution to this question before the end of the 1994 session and before consideration of the matter at the forty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

We greatly regret that, in spite of our common endeavour, relevant initiatives endorsed by the Conference on Disarmament and by resolution 48/77B of the United Nations General Assembly have not materialized the consensus which would satisfy the common aspirations of the 23 nations to contribute, on an equal footing, to advance the process of the multilateral disarmament.

The Conference is once again in the situation of having to report to the General Assembly that it has made no progress on this question.

We shall continue to urge all the member States of the Conference here, and in New York, to arrive at an agreement on the pressing issue of enlargement of the Conference's composition before its 1995 session.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Chile for his statement and for his kind words addressed to the Chair.

I now give the floor to the representative of Poland, Mr. Pac, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European Group.

Mr. PAC (Poland): On behalf of the Eastern European Group I should like to make the following statement concerning the question of negotiations on a ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The Eastern European Group wishes to express to the Special Coordinator its appreciation of the dedication and perseverance with which Ambassador Shannon has been seeking to discharge the responsibilities that were entrusted to him in the Presidential statement at the outset of the current session of the Conference on Disarmament.

The Eastern European Group is grateful to Ambassador Shannon in particular for his efforts which have resulted in two important findings: first - that there is consensus among CD members that this body is the appropriate forum to negotiate a non-discriminatory multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and second - that there is agreement, in principle, on the establishment of an appropriate ad hoc committee.

The Eastern European Group is disappointed and concerned that despite the remarkable meeting of minds in the Conference on Disarmament, an agreement on a negotiating mandate and on the actual establishment of an ad hoc committee has proved elusive.

Bearing in mind that consensus General Assembly resolution 48/75 L is at the origin of the efforts to negotiate a cut-off treaty, the Eastern European Group is confident that the window of opportunity created by this resolution will not be closed. We, therefore, lend our firm support to the request that the Special Coordinator continue his consultations in the time ahead. We wish him every success in that effort and we pledge to him our full cooperation.

The members of the Eastern European Group are determined to spare no effort to see negotiations commenced as soon as possible on a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Certainly no less can be expected from CD members who joined in the consensus on United Nations General Assembly resolution 48/75 L.

I should like to request, Mr. President, that this statement be circulated as an official CD document.

Mr. ZNIBER (Morocco) (translated from French): First of all, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on taking up the presidency of the Conference on Disarmament and wish you every success in your office.

I have asked for the floor to make the following clarifications on behalf of my delegation. At the plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament held yesterday, Tuesday, 6 September, a statement was made on behalf of a group of countries. The purpose of that statement was to introduce a draft protocol to be added to the non-proliferation Treaty. My country's name was mentioned as among those sponsoring that draft. My delegation would like in that respect to emphasize that it has not expressed a definitive position on the subject, nor was it duly informed of the submission of the draft protocol to the Conference. Therefore my delegation reserves its future position on the subject and takes this opportunity to point out that it has always called for the implementation of security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States on the basis of a legally binding international instrument.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his statement and for his kind words addressed to the Chair. I have a request from the representative of Egypt to take the floor. I therefore give the floor to Ambassador Zahran.

Mr. ZAHRAN (Egypt): Mr. President, as this is the first time I take the floor while you are presiding over the Conference on Disarmament, let me express to you the congratulations of my delegation for the skill and wisdom with which you have steered the work of the Conference during this last part of the session which is coming to an end today. Let me also express the satisfaction of my delegation to Ambassador Miguel Marín Bosch of Mexico for the work which has been done under his wise chairmanship in the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban in order to advance the negotiations on a draft CTBT in full cooperation with the chairmen of the two working groups, namely Ambassador Dembinski of Poland and Ambassador Hoffman of Germany. My delegation hopes that negotiations on this treaty could be concluded in the course of the inter-sessional period or during the first part of the 1995 session of the CD, an event which will have a very positive impact on the work of the 1995 review and extension conference of the NPT.

I would also like to pay tribute to the work and the tireless efforts of Ambassador Shannon of Canada for his patience and perseverance in fulfilling his mandate as Special Coordinator on the issue of cut-off. My delegation is in full agreement with the proposed paragraph 29 of the report as it has been adopted today. However, I would like to state here that when Egypt joined the consensus on General Assembly resolution 48/75 L adopted on 16 December 1993, it was a position taken on the understanding that banning the production of fissile materials encompassed both past as well as future production.

Addressing the plenary meeting of this Conference on 4 August 1994, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt made clear that Egypt fully supported the establishment of an ad hoc committee within the CD with a mandate to negotiate a treaty banning the production of weapons-usable fissile material which leads the way towards dealing appropriately with existing stockpiles of fissile materials through their progressive transfer to international control prior to rendering them unusable. I am quoting from his statement.

(Mr. Zahran, Egypt)

Egypt is committed to the objective of banning the production of fissile materials for weapons purposes and is of the view that any such ban must contain provisions which allow for an effective verification mechanism to be set up. Such a mechanism would require that clear information be available on existing stocks of weapons-grade materials. In the absence of an adequate system to verify and safeguard weapons-grade fissile materials, it becomes particularly relevant when we read news of such materials being leaked or smuggled for sale like any other commodities on the black market. While such transaction have been detected in some cases, one shudders at the thought of what has gone undetected.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Zahran, the representative of Egypt, for his statement and also for his kind words to the Chair.

I now give the floor to the representative of Pakistan, Ambassador Kamal.

Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): My delegation was happy to hear the report of the Special Coordinator, Ambassador Gerald Shannon, and welcomes the agreement on the text of paragraph 29 on the subject of a future fissile materials convention which has been incorporated in the report of the Conference on Disarmament.

As we all know, the Special Coordinator's consultations have been prolonged and difficult. This was essentially because there was, and there continues to be, a wide divergence of views among the members of the Conference on Disarmament on the scope of the proposed fissile materials convention.

This disagreement emerged after it became clear to many that the word "production" used in General Assembly resolution 48/75 of 16 December 1993 was going to be restrictively interpreted to imply "future" production only, thus excluding past production and stockpiles altogether. This effort at deliberately excluding past production or stockpiles from the purview of a convention on fissile materials does not make logical sense, even less so in the light of recent incidents and developments, and is, therefore, not acceptable to many delegations. It would be a perpetuation or legitimization of the asymmetry which exists globally and regionally, and would put the whole concept of nuclear disarmament into serious doubt.

My delegation has also taken note of Ambassador Shannon's suggestion that the mandate proposed by him earlier was without prejudice to a discussion on the stockpiles issue in the ad hoc committee. If this proposal was made in all earnestness and with the approval of those who oppose discussion of the stockpiles issue, then my delegation fails to understand why an explicit reference could not be made in the mandate. We all know that it is the mandate from which the scope is derived, which in turn guides the debate in the Committee. We would not be justified in believing that without any reference to stockpiles in the mandate, the treaty will address this important issue.

The recent plutonium smuggling incidents, which may only be a precursor to what could happen, vindicate our view that the stockpiles issue needs urgent attention. It is a clear hint that the most immediate danger today comes from the existing stocks and has to be addressed urgently.

(Mr. Kamal, Pakistan)

A fissile materials convention will have to be negotiated on the basis of a non-discriminatory approach and a comprehensive scope if it is to meet the security interests of concerned States and the aspirations of the international community. We have all agreed, in principle, that an ad hoc committee should be established as soon as a mandate is agreed. We have no doubt that the Special Coordinator will continue his efforts to propose a mandate which incorporates these unexceptionable objectives.

I would request that this statement be circulated as an official document of the Conference on Disarmament.

Mr. HOU (China) (translated from Chinese): Mr. President, as this is my first speech at the plenary meetings under your presidency, first of all I would like to express my warm congratulations on your taking up the presidency. We are happy to see our friendly and distinguished representative of Iran taking the Chair. At the time when this year's session of the Conference on Disarmament is at its end, I wish to congratulate you for the progress achieved under your presidency. This progress has been reflected in the report of the Conference to the General Assembly. It also includes a rolling text on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. We would also like to congratulate all the delegations with respect to this and take this opportunity to express our thanks to the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Petrovsky, and the Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference, Mr. Bensmail, for contributions they have made.

We just heard many statements on the question of cessation of production of fissile materials for weapons, as if today were a "day for cut-off". However, we do not intend to make a substantive statement on this matter today, because at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly and in the Conference on Disarmament we have had occasion to state China's principled position and views on this matter. Also under the Special Coordinator, Ambassador Shannon of Canada, the Chinese delegation has again made its own new efforts in this regard. We express the wish that he will achieve new progress in his future consultations.

Right now, I would like to talk about the question of security assurances for the non-nuclear States. At the plenary meeting yesterday, the Chinese delegation heard with interest the statement made by the representative of Iran on behalf of more than 10 countries of the Group of 21, along with the submission of a draft protocol. This is a meaningful and new development in this Conference's negotiation on this question. The Chinese delegation will seriously study this important document and continue to cooperate on this matter with these countries, the Group of 21 as a whole and the delegations of the Conference.

As is known to all, the question of "security assurances" is an important item on the Conference's agenda. We have undertaken negotiations on this question for many years. However, substantive progress has not yet been achieved. In the present new circumstances, the subject of "security assurances" has become an extremely urgent and important international matter. This should help it to be more easily resolved. We hope that next year's session of the Conference will accelerate its negotiation on this matter as a priority item.

(Mr. Hou, China)

Under the guidance of its Chairman, Ambassador Baron Guillaume of Belgium, the Ad Hoc Committee on negative security assurances has undertaken a significant amount of work and efforts, and some progress has been made. This has been reflected in our report. The Chinese delegation hopes that the Ad Hoc Committee will achieve a breakthrough, thereby making a contribution to the negotiations on a CTBT and the NPT conference.

At this juncture, I would like to reiterate China's principled position, views and suggestions on this matter. Since it came into possession of nuclear weapons in 1964, China has unilaterally undertaken not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances. China has also undertaken not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States or nuclear-free zones. China has on many occasions strongly urged all nuclear States to make this kind of pledge and to start negotiating on this matter as early as possible in order to conclude an international convention.

In 1993, the Chinese delegation took further new initiatives and proposed an important new initiative, calling for negotiations by the five nuclear States to conclude a treaty against the first use of nuclear weapons.

In June this year, during the negotiation of a CTBT in the Geneva Conference, China made suggestions on the draft articles concerning "security assurances for States parties".

These important initiatives that China proposed are aimed at devoting efforts to eliminating the danger of nuclear wars, preventing nuclear proliferation, effectively promoting a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons and their destruction, and realizing at an early date the objective of a world without nuclear weapons. We hope in good faith that the other nuclear States will respond positively, start negotiating on this matter and conclude a corresponding international agreement, thereby making contributions to the safeguarding and enhancement of international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Hou, the representative of China, for his statement. Are there any further requests for the floor at this stage? I give the floor to the representative of Algeria.

Mr. MEGHLAOUI (Algeria) (translated from French): I have asked for the floor to make a brief statement on the question of fissile material produced for military purposes. The Algerian delegation listened very carefully and with great interest to the report of the Special Coordinator on this issue. It is very grateful to Ambassador Shannon for his efforts, efforts made in a spirit of transparency. The Algerian delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate the following. We believe that the Conference on Disarmament is the appropriate body to negotiate a multilateral, non-discriminatory and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty on fissile material produced for military purposes. We also agree on the establishment of an ad hoc committee. As regards the definition of that committee's mandate, the least that can be said for the time being is that the approaches to the content of the mandate differ. These differences in approach that concern the question of existing stockpiles are not reflected in the paragraph we have just adopted. My delegation has already had occasion to

(Mr. Meghlaoui, Algeria)

address this important subject. The elaboration of a mandate will require a true spirit of compromise on the part of all the members of the Conference on Disarmament. We would urge Ambassador Shannon to continue his efforts in the inter-sessional period in order to produce consensus, which my delegation very much hopes will emerge.

The PRESIDENT: Are there any further requests for the floor at this stage? I see none. May I say, as some representatives have requested that their statements be circulated as official documents, that their requests have been duly noted and will be acted upon.

I should now like to take up the draft annual report of the Conference to the General Assembly and formalize the agreements reached at our last two informal meetings. In accordance with past practice, I shall proceed to its adoption section by section. As I noted before, the blank spaces will be filled in by the secretariat. In addition, the reports of the ad hoc committees, as well as the paragraph just agreed upon on "cut-off" - which are integral parts of the annual report - will, of course, be incorporated by the secretariat.

We shall begin with section I - "Introduction". Any comments? No comments. It is adopted.

Section II - "Organization of the work of the Conference". Part A. In paragraph 2, the closing date of 7 September 1994 will be added. Any comments? Part B. Any comments? Part C. Any comments? Part D. Any comments? Part E. Any comments? Part F. Any comments? Part G. In connection with paragraph 18 (b), the secretariat informs me that it will soon issue revision 6 to CD/8 containing the rules of procedure of the Conference, in order to reflect the agreement reached on the amendment to rule 12. Any comments? Part H. Any comments? Any comments on section II in general? Section II is adopted.

Section III - "Substantive work of the Conference during its 1994 session". Any comments on paragraphs 21, 22, 23 and 24? No comments. Part A - "Nuclear test ban". Here, the number of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban will be changed to CD/1273/Rev.1. Any comments on this part? No comments. Part B - "Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament". With regard to paragraph 29, under "Prohibition of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices", the text, as agreed earlier today, will be incorporated. Any comments on this part? No comments. Part C - "Prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters". Are there any comments here? I see no comments. Part D - "Prevention of an arms race in outer space". In paragraph 32, last line, after the symbol number of the document, CD/1271, the words "as amended at the 691st plenary meeting" will be added, as agreed. Any other comments here? No comments. Part E - "Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons". Here similarly, in paragraph 33, the words "as amended at the 691st plenary meeting" will be added after the symbol number of the document on the last line. Any comments? Part F - "New types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; radiological weapons".

(The President)

Any comments on this part? I recognize none. Part G - "Comprehensive programme of disarmament". Any comments? No comments. Part H - "Transparency in armaments". Here, the same formula as used in paragraphs 32 and 33 will apply in paragraph 36: after the symbol number on the last line, the words "as amended at the 691st plenary meeting" will be inserted. Any other comments? Part I - "Consideration of other areas dealing with the cessation of the arms race and disarmament and other relevant measures". Any comments here? No comments. Part J - "Consideration and adoption of the annual report of the Conference and any other report as appropriate to the General Assembly of the United Nations". Here, in paragraph 39, the date of 7 September 1994 will be inserted. Any other comments? No comments. Section III is adopted.

We have now concluded our consideration of the draft annual report to the United Nations General Assembly. May I take it that the report as a whole can be adopted?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: Would any delegation wish to make a statement at this stage? I see no request for the floor. This concludes our work for the 1994 session. Before adjourning, however, I would like to make some concluding remarks as President of the Conference.

We have concluded a long and arduous session. Thanks to the very thorough preparations undertaken by the first President of the Conference for this session, Ambassador Gérard Errera of France, we were able to make a successful and substantive start to our work and four ad hoc committees were immediately set up to concentrate on the four priority items on our agenda, that is, on a nuclear test ban, prevention of an arms race in outer space, transparency in armaments and negative security assurances. We also appointed special coordinators to deal with the issues of the prohibition of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices as well as the review of the Conference's agenda. A Friend of the Chair was also appointed to continue consultations on the expansion of the membership of the Conference. We also pursued our efforts aimed at the improved and effective functioning of the Conference. My duties have been made less onerous thanks to the untiring efforts of my predecessors in this function, namely Ambassador Hoffmann of Germany, Ambassador Boytha of Hungary, Ambassador Chandra of India and Ambassador Brotodiningrat of Indonesia.

Under the able guidance of Ambassador Marín Bosch of Mexico, the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban worked intensively and produced a substantive report which contains an invaluable basis for the negotiation of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. I am sure that the forthcoming inter-sessional negotiating period will bring about further progress along the road to the long-awaited goal of the cessation of all nuclear tests in all environments for all time.

Under the efficient chairmanship of Mrs. Bauta Solés of Cuba, the Ad Hoc Committee on Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space carried out substantive work on legal and terminological issues and confidence-building measures. It also addressed the issues of the adequacy of the current legal regime governing outer space activities.

(The President)

The Ad Hoc Committee on Transparency in Armaments, under the leadership of Ambassador Boytha of Hungary, addressed a very broad spectrum of issues related to increasing openness and transparency in the field of armaments. Although agreement on those issues has not been reached, some progress was recognized in the understanding of the issues involved.

The Ad Hoc Committee on negative security assurances, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Guillaume of Belgium, succeeded in adopting a report in which all delegations reiterated that they attach particular importance to the question of international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and expressed their readiness to engage in a search for a mutually acceptable solution to the issue.

The Conference, yet again this year, continued the informal open-ended consultations conducted under the dynamic and elegant chairmanship of Ambassador Ahmad Kamal of Pakistan on the improved and effective functioning of the Conference. New measures were agreed upon to improve the functioning of the Conference, the foundations were laid for future improvements, and, in acknowledgement of the value of such consultations, it was also agreed that they should continue during our next session, without change in their format, or chairmanship. I am sure that delegations look forward to resuming the dialogue, which often went beyond the improved effectiveness of the Conference, and provided a forum in which valuable exchanges of views on other areas of concern could be aired and shared as a basis for future discussion.

Similarly, the open-ended consultations conducted under the able guidance of Ambassador Lars Norberg, Special Coordinator for the review of the agenda, proved to be a very valuable opportunity for delegations to discuss wide-ranging issues related not only to the Conference's immediate and future agenda, but also wider-ranging issues related to the role of the CD in a rapidly changing world. Despite divergent views on the need to make any immediate changes to the Conference's agenda, it was, nevertheless, recognized that the Conference's agenda should be kept under constant review in order to be able to respond to change both within and without. The Conference, therefore, decided that such consultations would continue during the next session and I am sure that we will all benefit from a continuation of the quality of discussion attained during this year.

On the issue of fissile material, the Special Coordinator, Ambassador Shannon of Canada, spared no effort to narrow differences and define areas of agreement which the Conference can build on in the future. There was consensus that the Conference was, indeed, the appropriate forum in which to negotiate a treaty on this issue and there was also agreement that an ad hoc committee on this issue should, in principle, be established as soon as a mandate had been agreed upon. It is our hope that remaining differences can be overcome and that the Conference can rise to assume its responsibilities in this regard.

We are all grateful to the Friend of the Chair on expansion of membership, Ambassador Lampreia of Brazil, for his untiring efforts to bring about a compromise solution to this long-standing problem. Regrettably, this

(The President)

did not prove to be possible during this year. The importance and urgency attached to the question of expansion of the membership of the Conference, which is duly recognized by its members, ought to be translated into positive action through appropriate solutions so that it would make the Conference more representative of the international community. It is my sincere hope that this issue can be resolved in the near future.

I should like to thank all delegations, coordinators of regional groups and China, for the cooperation and flexibility shown to me, as President, during the past few weeks. It has been an honour and I must say a pleasure to preside over this forum during such a challenging period. As my term of office will extend to the end of 1994, I wish to assure you that I shall continue to assume my responsibilities during the inter-sessional period and do everything possible to facilitate the task of the incoming President for the 1995 session.

Last, but not least, allow me to express my sincere thanks to the secretariat which, under the leadership of Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, Secretary-General of the Conference and Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, and also notably Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Conference, has rendered every valuable assistance to me during my presidency. I should also like to thank the secretaries of the ad hoc committees and the staff of the secretariat, as well as the interpreters and translators and all other, often invisible, members of a very efficient team who do so much to make our work run so smoothly.

The next plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament will be held on Tuesday, 31 January 1995, at 10 a.m. in this room, in accordance with the agreement reached on the dates for its 1995 session. The last plenary meeting of this session is thus adjourned.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.